

THE
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No. 14.

A P R I L,

1886.

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ANNUAL REPORT, 1886.

THE FORTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING of the ASSOCIATION was held on Wednesday, 24th February, 1886.

The New Policies issued during the year ending at Christmas 1885 were 689, assuring
ing £861,537

And the **New Premiums** amounted to £13,816

The Net Income, from Premiums and Interest, amounted to £189,907

Claims by Death had arisen under 163 LIFE POLICIES effected on 110 LIVES assuring the
NET SUM of £94,494, to which BONUS ADDITIONS had been made amounting to £12,041, making the
total amount of CLAIMS £106,535.

The Surplus on the year's transactions, amounting to £42,260, was added to the ACCUMU-
LATED FUNDS, which, after making provision for all Claims outstanding, amounted to £1,385,577,
yielding an average rate of £4, 6s. 8d. per cent. Interest.

The Sums Assured under POLICIES SUBSISTING at Christmas 1885, including VESTED ADDI-
TIONS, after deducting Sums re-assured, amounted to £4,306,338

GENERAL REVISION OF RATES.

THE ATTENTION of intending ASSURERS is specially invited to the NEW PROSPECTUS of the
ASSOCIATION, containing REVISED TABLES of RATES calculated on the most recent and exact
data available at the present time.

New Conditions have also been introduced into the Contract of Assurance conferring
LIBERAL and ADVANTAGEOUS PRIVILEGES on the ASSURED. It will be found that in point of ECONOMY
the NEW RATES compare favourably with those of other Offices.

Low Rates of Premium for Fixed Benefits.
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Free Residence within Extended Limits.
Claims payable immediately on proof of Death.
Nine-Tenths of Profits given to the Assured.

The Eighth Quinquennial Investigation is now in progress, and the Division
of Profits following thereon will be declared in May next.

The Bonus hitherto declared on Whole-Term Policies entitled to participate in Profits has never
been less than £1 10s. per cent. for every full annual premium paid.

The Claims by Death already paid by the ASSOCIATION exceed £2,267,000.

Policies effected during present year will rank as of FIVE YEARS' STANDING at the NINTH DIVISION
OF PROFITS at Christmas 1890. **Loans** on approved Securities in connection with LIFE ASSURANCE.

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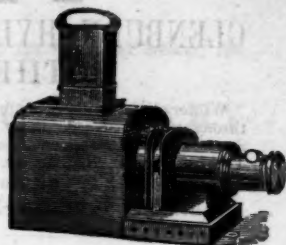
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ART. I.—THE GREEK QUESTION.

THE Greek Question is anything but new. It may be said to have in reality begun as soon as the Turks appeared in Asia Minor as a danger to the Christian world. It took a new shape five centuries ago, when they first set foot in Europe. Since then it has passed through different phases and assumed different forms. Christian Constantinople did not fall in one day. The Byzantine Empire, enfeebled as it was, sustained the struggle for nearly two hundred years. The last sickness of that Empire was as long, and its death-agony as protracted, as are now those of the Ottoman State which took its place. At last, Constantinople fell, and the Turks established themselves definitively in Europe.

From that moment, the Eastern Question became a Question for the nations of the West. Their own existence was at stake. The Turks made no secret of their intentions with regard to Italy. Hungary was soon a Turkish province. Vienna was more than once in imminent peril. The whole of Europe was in danger of an Ottoman conquest. That danger had to be met somehow. Such was the first phase of the Eastern Question in Europe. It lasted about two hundred years. Then the Battle of Lepanto destroyed the naval supremacy of Turkey, and the victory of John Sobieski checked for ever the military extension of her power by land. From that time, the fears of Western Europe were laid to rest, and consequently the Eastern

Question seemed to interest her no more. As soon as the Sultan ceased to be a terror, Western Europe had no acute objection to allowing him to remain at Constantinople, and took comparatively little heed of what became of the Eastern Christians who were the victims of his oppression.

But while the Western nations were becoming indifferent to the struggle against Turkey, a new enemy arose for them in the North. This enemy has proved to be all the more dangerous because she is not hampered by any of those rivalries which weaken the collective action of Western Europe. Russia has no interests to serve except her own, and no counsels but her own to follow. She has one especial point of strength in the fact that by having the same religious belief she inspires with confidence the Christian nations of the East. Moreover, she has had the immense advantage of making her appearance only since Turkey has begun to decline. But this last circumstance has in itself been enough to make her a cause of alarm to Europe. Nobody desired to see the worn-out Turk replaced at Constantinople by a nation full of youth and of ambition. And so the Eastern Question again became a subject of interest in the West.

But it was not long before another element appeared to change the aspect of the Eastern Question. The races brought into subjection under Turkey began to move for the recovery of their independence.

Russia has done a great deal to awaken the national aspirations of these races. It is true that it is not to her alone that most of them owe their deliverance. Some of them have gained it by their own struggles and with the help, however tardy, of other Powers. But it is none the less true that Russia has a just claim to much of their gratitude. She it was that undertook their protection in the hour of their distress. At first she saw in them only fellow-believers in her own religion, growing in slavery under Mohammedans. After a time the religious feeling became subordinate to the sympathy of race, and she stood forth as the one champion of her Slavonic kinsmen. If, however, it may be permitted to judge by present events, it would hardly seem that, since these

nations have become States, the banner of Slavism is likely to be of a more permanent use to Russia than that of the Orthodox Faith. Now, does this last phenomenon arise merely from the proverbial ingratitude of nations? Or does it find its explanation in a kind of suspicion—whether ill or well founded—that this extremely mighty Protectress may perhaps not be quite disinterested?

However that may be, the awakening of the Christian races subject to Turkey has brought the Eastern Question into another phase. The starting-point of this phase was the Greek War of Independence. After ten years of bloody struggles and of diplomatic negotiations, the Greek War resulted, more than fifty years ago, in the formation of the present Greek Kingdom—small, mutilated, and deprived,—as though on purpose—of the very means of subsistence. However, this Kingdom was the first independent State cut out of the agglomeration of Ottoman conquests.

Since that time, other Eastern peoples have been emancipated one after another. The Danubian Principalities have been transformed into the Kingdom of Roumania. Servia also became a Kingdom, and has been altogether set free from Turkish suzerainty. Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia have been made tributary Principalities. Greece and Montenegro have obtained accessions of territory. The Eastern Question seemed at last to be drawing close to a solution, by the gradual development of a Confederation of Christian States, a solution which would beyond all doubt have been speedily effected, if only all these nations had united themselves for the one common object, and arrived by mutual concession at a compromise dictated alike by justice and by their own interests. But unhappily that solution has not been reached. The nations concerned are divided not only by race-rivalries, but also by jealousies and ambitions which have been skilfully aggravated from outside. Instead of a mutual understanding between Servia and Bulgaria, we have seen these States bathed in the blood of a fratricidal war, leaving the hands of Turkey free to deal with Greece, who, on her side, is straining every nerve to

prepare for the unequal struggle. Such is the spectacle which now calls for the wonder and the sorrow of Europe.

Before it is possible to appreciate the position of Greece, it is necessary to consider what part she has already played in the successive phases of the Eastern Question which have preceded the present complication. From the time of the fall of Constantinople until the present day, through all the agonies of a slavery which lasted for four hundred years, and amid all the trials of better days, the Greeks have never lost their hope for their future. This national hopefulness is not the mere vanity which remembrance of the past inspires in a fallen race. We have hoped and we do hope, because—even during the first two centuries of our bondage, when the hand of the Turks was still full of strength and lay so heavy upon us—we have always known what were and are those things which give us our true life and strength. The Byzantine Empire and the Greek people are two different things. The Byzantine Empire perished when Constantinople fell. When Constantinople fell, another chapter was opened in the history of the Greek people.

It is wrong to condemn and revile the Byzantine Empire. That Empire had a great mission to fulfil; and it fulfilled it. It preserved the traditions of antient civilization in the midst of Asiatic barbarism, on the one hand, and the European barbarism of the Middle Ages, on the other. It did not perish until Western Europe was ripe and ready to receive from its dying hands the precious inheritance of which it had been the guardian. It existed long, and its history is not inglorious. The marks of that history are to be seen to-day in the history and institutions of all the existing civilized world,* and especially in that of all the countries which the power of the Byzantine Empire occupied. But the Byzantine Empire, however much it included and however much it represented Mediæval Greece, had nothing Greek about it except the language which it spoke. The idea of the mother-country of the Hellenes was not to be found there. The Western nations of Europe called

*The influence of the Code of Justinian upon Jurisprudence may be cited as one example.

it the Greek Empire, but it did not acknowledge the title. It was and it always remained, the Roman Empire. The Emperors and their subjects alike gloried in the name. The fact that it was the Empire of Rome was never forgotten or allowed to fall into the background, and it was this fact which in the end proved its destruction. The last Emperors might have raised it from its death-bed to a new life if only they had cared to change the Roman State into a National State, and to set the flag of Greece higher than the antique monogram of the Labarum or the religious banner of the Cross. A sort of idea of the kind indeed floated across their minds, but they lacked either the nerve or the will to carry it into effect.

Two works have been published quite recently which seem to me in themselves sufficient to show what resources a really National Government could have developed from under the worm-eaten case in which the Greek nationality had then been enclosed. The first is a book in French; it is the *Bibliographie des ouvrages publiés en grec par des Grecs au XVme et au XVIme siècles*, by M. Emile Legrand. The two large volumes which constitute it do the utmost credit to their learned author, but they do no less honour to the memory of those Greeks who, as it were on the very morning after the crash, set themselves to work in hope for the time of restoration. The admirable biographical notices which precede this Bibliography, and the letters hitherto unpublished which form its Appendix, show us these men of learning occupied unceasingly with the destiny of their race. Those who lived in their own country kept the Nationalist sentiment alive if by nothing more than by their lamentations over the condition of things by which they were surrounded. If they lived in exile, they lived as the Apostles of Hellenism. They went from country to country seeking help, or at least sympathy, for their own. Such as stood in high places, like Bessarion or Laskares, exhausted their influence with Popes, Princes, and Kings in the endeavour to stir up a new Crusade. They and their writings are in themselves proof enough that Greece was not dead.

Intellectual activity alone is not a sufficient proof that a people still live; it is more of a sign or symptom of such a life,

A pen alone is a poor weapon against an armed robber. The Greeks had also military capacities of which the Empire of Constantinople had not had the sense to avail itself. The proofs of this military capacity have been collected and published by the k. Sathas in the second of the two recent works to which I have alluded. It is his history of the Ἑλληνες Στρατιῶται 'εν τῇ Δύσει, καὶ ἀναγέννησις τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς τακτικῆς.

We see that the Ottoman conquest was hardly over before these companies of Greek soldiers, first recruited by the Republic of Venice, placed their paid services at the disposal of the Princes of Europe, and appeared amid the very flower of their armies. They played an important part in the wars of Charles VIII., and, again, in those of Francis I., in Italy. We find them mustered under the French flag in opposition to Henry VIII. of England, and in the long struggles of Charles V. and his successors against the Dutch.

But it would be a mistake to imagine that the then surviving military spirit of Greece found no development except among these mercenaries. The Klephtai and the Armatoloi are a matter of no recent history. In fact, the mountains of Greece have never been without men who offered an armed protest against the Turkish domination. Of what stuff as soldiers we were, and were known to be made, we may call Turkey herself as a witness, in the fact of the hellish 'Blood-tax,' the compulsory conscription of our little children, by which she was fain to recruit the ranks of her Janissaries. Our military capacity was a power which the Turks saw, and of which they availed themselves. The Byzantine Empire had not had as much sense. It is true that that Empire fought the ground, inch by inch, to the last; but it was to allies and mercenaries that she had recourse for contingents. The heroic Constantine XIII., the last Emperor of Rome, fought right gallantly and fell right gloriously, but the army at whose head he died was not a National army of Hellenes.

The ruin had not long been complete before there were seen some symptoms of an attempt to rise again. Wherever it was possible for such a sign of life to appear, there were to be found agitations and plots. The Hellenes felt that they had not

strength enough by themselves to enter upon such a conflict without some help from outside, and for such help they resorted to the Christians of Western Europe; they entreated them to come to their aid, they promised them to rise at the first signal of a deliverance, and, as a matter of fact, the Greeks seized upon continual occasions to break out into insurrections, which, being only suppressed almost as soon as they took place, had little more result at the moment than to serve as a pretext for more deeply embittering the cup of slavery. On the other hand, every such movement, every fruitless rising, was a proof of the right of Hellas to be heard upon the Eastern Question. Out of the Eastern Question they evolved a Greek Question.

At the same time, the foes of Turkey were far from neglecting to reckon the power of the Greek factor in their calculations against the common enemy of all Christianity. The re-establishment of a Greek Empire was the day-dream of Charles VIII. For this he sought Greek help. Laskaris attached himself to him for that end, and for that end followed him from Rome to Paris. Arianites, the commander of the Greek contingent, held in his hands the threads of a conspiracy whose object was to prepare a general rising of the Greeks as soon as the King of France should set foot among them. But death came, and the scheme perished.

I will not here dwell upon the different projects which were set on foot for raising a new Crusade, or upon the different insurrections which broke out in Greece before and after the Battle of Lepanto. Neither need I recount the negotiations of the Greeks of Cyprus and of the Maina,* at one time with the Duke of Savoy, and at another with the Duke of Nevers, on whom they called to resuscitate the Byzantine Empire, of which he claimed to be the lawful heir, as descendant of the Palaiologoi. All these brilliant schemes and ingenious plots came to nothing. Only one of the Western European States, namely, the Republic of Venice, waged an unceasing war against the Turks, and she often did so with success. But the

* The Maina, or Mane, is a district which occupies the ridge of Mount Taygetos; but its inhabitants resisted the Turks, came in contact with the West, and were constituted as a sort of semi-independent principality.

policy of this Republic was so entirely selfish and so purely mercantile as to prevent her gaining the confidence either of the other States of Europe or of the populations which were overshadowed by her power.

I have only one more remark to make as to the position of the Greek people with regard to those of Western Europe during the first two hundred years after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople. It is this. There was a certain black cloud always hanging over the whole question. That cloud was the religious separation between the Eastern and the Western Churches. It is true that the Westerns had a certain feeling of compassion for those whom they regarded as their erring brethren; but they appeared to them to be, first and foremost, heretics who had wilfully provoked and justly incurred the avenging stroke of God's anger. The Greeks, on the other hand, still held to all those antipathies which had brought to nought the Re-union of the Churches more or less imperfectly effected during the last days of the Empire. They remained the staunch adherents of their own Church, and that, all the more, because the temporal privileges with which the Mohammedan conquerers had invested the ecclesiastical authorities caused these latter still to offer, amid the otherwise uniform darkness of slavery, something which bore the form of a separate and independent nationality. Under the shelter of the Greek Patriarchate of Constantinople, the Greeks still found themselves gathered together as a nation. The Patriarchate gave them at once a remembrance of what had been and the hopeful suggestion of what again might be.

Thus passed two whole centuries, and then came a time of discouragement. Western Europe ceased to care what happened in the East. The Greeks found themselves entirely forgotten. They did not know that the Decline and Fall of Turkey had begun. On the contrary, they beheld the Ottoman conquest of Crete, and the last efforts of Venice to maintain an hold of the Peloponnesos, from which she was so soon to be expelled. While the Turks were being defeated in the North, they were making their final conquests in the South; and the weight of their oppressors was too crushing to allow

the Greeks to find any consolation in the reverses of their arms before Vienna. The last half of the seventeenth century was the direst time through which we have ever had to pass.

With the beginning of the eighteenth century, the dawn of hope began again to break. Russia entered on the stage. Greece turned her eyes amid her night towards this *Aurora Borealis*, this Northern Light, this Power whose populations shared her religious beliefs, and who freely fed her with promises and encouragements. During the whole of the last century the Greeks were the pivot upon which the machinery of Russian policy in the East was made to turn. At St. Petersburg and Moscow the word 'Slav' was not employed. Peter the Great had his portrait engraved with the title '*Russo-Græcorum Monarcha*.' The Empress Anne continued these relations with the Greeks, with an eye to a Revolutionary movement. Catherine II. sent a Russian fleet from the Baltic into Greek waters, with a view to the insurrection which she had already pre-arranged; and later on she called her second grandson by the significant name of Constantine, and actually had him reared by Greek nurses. She hoped and thought that she and they were rearing a future Greek Emperor. With this view she at the same time concerted with the Emperor Joseph II. 'the Partition of Turkey,' in harmony with the famous '*projet grec*.' According to this arrangement, Austria and Russia were both to obtain an enlargement of territory by annexing the Turkish Provinces which lay nearest to them. A Roumanian State was to be formed under the name of Dacia. The Turks were to be turned out of Constantinople bag and baggage, and the Byzantine-Greek Empire was to be restored there. Such were the leading ideas of this plan. They were the same as those of Charles VIII. and of the Duke of Nevers, only they were much better and more fully worked out, and had so much the better chance of succeeding as they were more in accord with both the religious and the patriotic aspirations of the Greeks.

However, the confidence reposed by the Greeks in Russia had already received a rude shock from the history of the insurrection which broke out in 1770, on the appearance of the

Russian fleet under Orloff. The Turco-Russian war was brought to an end by a treaty in which the Greeks were entirely forgotten. As soon as the Russians had turned their backs, they were left to the mercy of their old tyrants. And the vengeance which the Turks wreaked was terrible.

Nevertheless, the result of this abortive revolt was rather to fan than to extinguish the hopes of the conquered. It was the first serious attempt which had been made to bring about a general rising of the whole nation. It was only an attempt, and it was an attempt which had failed, but still it had shown what might be done under more favourable circumstances. So we did not lose courage. We did not even give up the struggle. It was not only the Klephtai who kept it alive in the mountains. From that time we began to dare to face the Turks at sea. The success of these first maritime experiments encouraged Lampros Katzones to fit out, about the year 1788, with the help of patriotic subscriptions, what was really a little fleet, and he managed to keep the banner marked with the Cross of Christ and of Hellas floating over Greek seas for as much as four years. The Turks were not able to destroy his small navy till 1792.

The Hellenic world was still quivering from the results of Russia's last lame and impotent conclusion when the hurricane of the great French Revolution burst. This tremendous cataclysm was not without some effect in Greece. It hastened the National awakening. The Greeks knew and understood very little of what was going on in France, but they drew from it a certain conclusion, viz.: that an oppressed people can get rid of the government which oppresses them, if only they have the will. And in this sense, two apostles of this new gospel, Regas and Koraës, set themselves, each in his own way, to stir up men's minds by preaching and spreading the principles of the French Revolution.

It was not long before circumstances brought the Greeks into actual contact with the French. The first thing was the expedition to Egypt. To Greek eyes this expedition seemed to be the war of civilization against savagery, of the Christian against the Muslim. In a little while the French flag was

floating over the Ionian Islands and the coast of Epirus. The sight gave a fresh stimulus to the hope that deliverance was at length at hand. These hopes found encouragement in the policy of Napoleon, who reckoned Greece as a factor in the vast conceptions to which his daring imagination gave birth. As early as 1797 he sent the two Stephanopouloi, natives of the Greek colony in Corsica, to try and come to an understanding with the Greeks of the Maina. Rigas, at the same time, called on the victorious French General to afford the aid of France to the national movement for which he was labouring. In short, from the time of the French Revolution, the Greeks looked Westward with more hope than they had ever felt in that quarter before.

And these hopes were again deceived. They soon found that they could count on no help from Western Christendom, so they turned again towards Russia. There they found the same religious beliefs as their own, and the same hatred for Turkey. But while the Greeks again looked to the help of Russia to aid in the success of any new National rising, they were not blind to the fact that they themselves by their origin, their history, their traditions, and their tendencies, are allied to Western Europe, and that, geographically, they form the outer link in the chain of the European States. Greece wishes to live with the life of modern Europe. In the throes with which she bursts her fetters, she appeals to the West in the name of her historic past, the mother of all their culture. The Greek Revolution is not a movement to restore the Byzantine Empire. It is the re-awakening of antient Hellas.

It must be remarked that the separation between the idea of Hellas and the tradition of the Byzantine Empire was not the work of a moment, nor was its development at once clear and sharp. On the contrary, it came obscurely and slowly. And it could not have been otherwise. The Empire of Rome had struck deep roots into the Greek soil; it had adopted the Greek language and the Greek civilisation; and the profession of a common Christianity had welded it with the Greek people. But after the decline of the Roman Empire had begun, long

before Constantinople fell, the idea of Hellas had begun to put aside, one after the other, the Roman swathing-bands in which she had been wrapt. The Imperial Byzantine tradition, however, went on in the Church, after the fall of the Empire. Under the Turkish domination, the Church preserved what remained of the temporal power of the State. Her ceremonial was Byzantine. She has actually never expunged from her services the supplications in which she besought the Almighty 'that it may please Him to grant to our Emperor victory over the barbarians.' Her Kalendar of Fasts and Festivals brings round year by year the solemn Commemorations of events in Byzantine history. All these things tended to bring the Empire home to Greek recollection, and to confound with that recollection the hopes of the oppressed Greek people. All the abortive schemes for a restoration of the Empire, from Charles VIII. to Catherine II., had been confirmations and encouragements to this Byzantine tradition. But, alongside this archæological survival, the new dawn of Hellenism was brightening more and more clearly. And it was exactly in those regions which were the most intensely Hellenic that the fair new light arose the most strongly.

Thus it is that, fifty years before our War of Independence, and while Catherine II. was working at her Greek scheme, and the inhabitants of the Peloponnesos were calling upon her for her aid, we find that they no longer based their claims upon the traditions of the Komnenoi and of the Palaiologoi. It was to the glorious fact of what they themselves were, that they appealed. 'Set free,' they wrote to the Czarina, 'set free the children of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians from the crushing yoke under which they groan, and which, nevertheless, has not been able to destroy the spirit of their nation, where the love of freedom still burns. Our chains have been powerless to stifle that love, for we have always had set before our eyes the living memory of our heroic fathers.'

Even as late as 1821, there was as much of the Byzantine tradition as of the Hellenic idea in the minds of those who prepared the outbreak of the National movement. The poet

Rigas addressed his passionate appeals to every Christian on whom the yoke lay; he called on them 'to light a fire which should wrap all Turkey, from Bosnia to Arabia.' As long as the secret intrigues of the Hetairia had their centre in Constantinople, as long as the conspirators concocted their plans of revolt under the shadow of the desecrated church of the Eternal Wisdom, so long the National hopes were mixed up with dreams of the restoration of the Empire. Thus, the War of Independence began upon the banks of the Danube before it broke out on the shores of the *Ægean*. So far as it is now possible to credit any defined plan to those who organized this first movement, it would seem to have been their idea to cause an attack to converge upon Constantinople from the outer provinces, and there to establish the Romano-Greek Byzantine Empire. This is what had been the Greek scheme of Catherine II.

The fact is, that this project was not then as visionary as it now seems. The spirit of Nationalism had not then been roused in the other races of the Balkan peninsula. Their religion bound them together as against their common oppressor. They felt that they were Christians first, and anything else afterwards, and the leading part taken by the Greeks had then nothing about it to repel the other nationalities from uniting under them in order to form along with them one Christian State. It is true that the Holy Alliance was then all-powerful; that Russia, from the very first moment, repudiated the Insurrection; and that the whole of Europe, by the action of its Governments, set itself to oppose it. Nevertheless, there were then some chances of success which have never since presented themselves. If the Revolution had been better organized, if Ypsilanti had possessed the genius of a Washington or of a Napoleon, the Great Idea of a restored Byzantine Empire might perhaps then have been realized. It was a case of *Then or Never*. It was not *Then*. The rising in Wallachia was soon stamped out, and the struggle for independence became limited to the coasts of the *Ægean*. Since then, the Byzantine idea has been fading away before the Hellenic idea. The War of Independence became a war

exclusively Greek, and since the formation of the new Greek Kingdom, the Greek aspirations have been growing ever more and more exclusively Hellenic.

It must not be forgotten that during the domination of the Turks, Constantinople, which was the seat of the Patriarchate, had been the real capital of the Greek nation. There was there—as indeed there still is—the largest Greek population contained in any one city in the world. The new spring-time of Greek literature had blossomed in the centre of culture which had there been formed. The flower of the race was included in the aristocracy of the Phanar. Constantinople was *the* Greek city, above all others; and everything there recalled the Byzantine tradition. But since the Greek Kingdom has come into existence, the centre of Greek thought has shifted. It is now at Athens. The germ of the Greek future is the little State washed by the *Ægean*. It is that State which ought to be made greater, were it only in reparation for the injustice committed upon it when it was brought into being. The greater and more prosperous it becomes, the greater is the influence which it will exercise upon the Greek provinces which do not yet belong to it, which it cannot now pretend to annex, but whose nationality can never allow them to be to it a subject of indifference. No one thinks now of a restoration of the Eastern Empire; it is not possible, and the fact is fully faced. But the stronger we feel ourselves, the more strongly we shall feel it to be our duty to spare no effort to prevent new enemies arising to take the place of the Turks—and enemies, moreover, who are all the more dangerous because, whereas the Sultans tolerated and acknowledged the existence of a Greek element among their subjects, the declared object of the new foes who have succeeded them is expressly to swamp and to destroy it.

It has been needful thus to trace the past history of the Eastern Question, in order to explain truthfully and clearly the change of form which Greek hope has now undergone. The idea of the re-establishment of the Byzantine Empire was what was called 'the Great Idea.' Time has been when it was a good idea. It is an idea which history at once explains and

justifies. But the course of time has now necessarily guided Greek aspirations into another channel. The Hellenic Idea has now emerged and cleared itself from any necessary connection with schemes for restoring the Empire of Constantinople. It is still a Great Idea, and it is all the stronger because it is more concentrated.

The more this idea takes shape, the more it will prevent individual Greeks wasting their energies in pursuit of dreams which have passed out of the range of practical politics. The path of Greece is clearly laid out for her, and from this path she has not swerved for the last fifty years. She has been working hard to develop her own resources so far as she has been allowed to do so. Whenever she could, she has tried to complete herself by receiving into her State any of those other Greek provinces by which she is surrounded, and which are hungry to cast in their lot with her's. This desire has already been partly gratified. The Ionian Islands, the plain of Thessaly, and a very small fraction of Epirus have been re-united to free Greece, and find themselves all the better for the change. The rest of Epirus, the Greek portion of Macedonia, and the island of Crete are eager for their own turn to come.

These aspirations are entirely confined within the limits of a possible and practical policy. They are in no way opposed to the just aspirations of any other nation in the East. It is impossible for the Greeks to forget that by their own War of Independence they were the first to set an example before their fellow-bondsmen, and to propound to all Europe the principle of Nationalism. They have remained steadily faithful to that principle. For that reason, their heartiest wish has always been to see the emancipation of the other races inhabiting the Balkan Peninsula; and it has been their consistent joy to watch the gradual steps by which that emancipation has been advancing. They were the first to hail the formation of the Kingdom of Roumania. They rejoiced to see crowned with success the heroic struggles of the Servians and of the Montenegrins. They welcomed like brothers the deliverance of the Bulgars. When the Principalities of Bulgaria and

Eastern Roumelia were created under the Treaty of Berlin, with safeguards protecting the rights of the Greek population, the Greek people beheld in that creation only another step towards the solution of the Eastern Question on the principles of peace and justice. They would have seen with a satisfaction equally great and equally honest the union of these two last Principalities, had it not been that the Revolution effected at Philippopolis had in it an element which went beyond that union. This element was an undisguised menace against Greek nationality, and a threat against the peace of the regenerated East.

The truth is, the Bulgars have got a Great Ideal of their own. What this Bulgar ideal is, we learn from their own mouths. Nothing can give a fairer idea of it than a little book which was printed at Philippopolis and distributed gratuitously on the recent occasion of the thousandth anniversary of the Saints Methodius and Cyrill, the two Greek missionaries to whose Apostolic devotedness the Slavonic nations were indebted for the introduction of Christianity among them. The book in question is entitled '*Macedonia at the Millenary of Methodius, or, How the Bulgars stand to-day in Macedonia.*' It has been translated into Greek. The principle of the work is the doctrine that Macedonia is a Bulgar province which the Greeks are wickedly attempting to Hellenize. It proceeds on the supposition that Cyrill and Methodius, instead of being Greeks, were Slavs. They came from Thessalonica; therefore it is argued that Thessalonica must be by nature a Bulgar town. 'The future of Bulgaria,' says the author, 'lies in Macedonia; it lies in the elevation of the Macedonian Bulgars. That is what we have to work for, for in that are bound up our greatness, our future unity, our National integrity, our very existence as a State. A Bulgar State in the Balkan Peninsula would be insignificant and worthless without Macedonia. Of a true Bulgaria, Thessalonica must be the front door. In a structure really Bulgarian, Thessalonica must be the main window through which the light will enter. As long as Macedonia has not been made a part of Bulgaria, Bulgaria has not

been constituted. That is the truth which every man ought to know and never to forget' (p. 7 of the Greek translation).

However, it still seems, even according to this reluctant witness, that Macedonia is as yet only imperfectly Bulgarian. 'It is,' he says, 'painful and humiliating to have to admit it, but the fact must be faced. The truth is that the greater part of Macedonia is as yet destitute of that consciousness of its own nationality which a people must needs feel before they claim their rights; and if collective Europe were this day to call for a plebiscite of the inhabitants of Macedonia to declare to what nationality they belong, it is greatly to be feared that most of them would not declare for us' (p. 91). The writer of this phenomenal work feels it almost needless to remark that such lamentable blindness on the part of the Macedonians as to what they themselves are is nothing but the result of Greek oppression and intrigue; but, he says, 'if only we had ten or even five years of thorough good work, it would be enough to enable the Bulgaria secured by the Treaty of San Stephano to become a reality, oppose it who would' (p. 97).

At the same time, Macedonia is not the only feature in this programme. Of their pretensions in the direction of Servia I say nothing. I am only concerned with those which threaten Greece. Where it is asserted that Cyrill and Methodius were Slavs, we cannot be surprised to find it recorded that Justinian was born at Ochrida. For the present, the Bulgar propagandists' field of work lies in Macedonia; but the turn of Thrace and the rest is to come later. It is enough for them just now to claim the district of Adrianople. 'Macedonia and the district of Adrianople are Bulgar provinces, and ought to belong to none but Bulgars.' Constantinople is not actually named, but it is remarked that the Exarch of Bulgaria ought to reside there. 'His banishment thence is a thing which never can nor will be allowed. The place of the shepherd is with his flock.' In other words, we are informed that not only Macedonia and Thessalonica, but also Thrace and Constantinople, are by nature provinces of Bulgaria.

This Bulgarian theory is, of course, utterly without base in history. All the records of the past may be searched in vain

without finding anything which can even suggest how it ever arose. Whence comes it, then? It springs from the fosterage of that Great Power alongside, which has toiled so hard to bring it into being, in order to use it as a tool. That is the fact which invests it both with importance and with danger. And that is the fact which explains the excitement felt both in Servia and in Greece when the Bulgars, a few months ago, began to try to realise their programme by force.

The world has been both astonished and shocked at the sight of the fratricidal war between the Bulgars and the Servians. A contest between the Bulgars and the Greeks would have seemed much more natural. For the last twenty years, the ear has got quite used to the noise of the dissensions between the Bulgars and the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople. Since the Treaty of San Stephano the designs of the Bulgars upon the Greek district of Macedonia have been so avowed, that it does not appear astonishing that all Greece should have armed itself to withstand them. Nevertheless, at the time of the Greek War of Independence, and for long afterwards, there was nothing to forbode any dispute between Greeks and Bulgars. So much the contrary, the Bulgars and their best friends looked forward to a future which should be marked by an intimate alliance with the Greeks. A French writer who has made a profound study of the Slavs, who has lived among them, who was extremely fond of them, and who, notwithstanding some mistakes, gave on these questions, then just coming into being, an opinion which was generally true and indeed sometimes almost prophetic, looked forward to the same thing. Here are the words of M. Cyprien Robert in his book on *Les Slaves de Turquie*, published in 1844 (Vol. I., p. 323).

‘Bulgaria is incapable of forming a State by herself, but she is strong enough to be able to refuse any Union with her neighbours which may be offered to her upon any lower condition than that of federal Home Rule. This is a fact which the Servians must never forget, if they wish to retain the good-will of the Bulgars. The truth is, that while a community of language and of origin establishes a tie necessarily close between the Servians and the Bulgars, the latter are at least as strongly drawn towards the Greeks by commercial interest. Moreover, the Government of Athens is

the only Government in the Balkan Peninsula which can never be brought to close quarters with Bulgaria. The difference of nature between the Bulgars and the Greeks is of such a kind as in itself almost to render any friction impossible. The Greek has a proud consciousness of his own intellectual endowments, and it is by them that he aspires to rule; the Bulgar, on the other hand, feeling his own mental inferiority, is willing enough to yield to the impulses of Greek thought as long as he is allowed to plough and reap in peace. Now, the Greeks, with their tendency to sea-faring and commerce, are most willing to let the Bulgars alone—indeed, they are only too happy to find in them good quiet neighbours, who are content to till the ground and to supply rough material for Greek factories. Thanks to this instinct of mutual need and convenience, the two peoples fraternize more and more. All educated Bulgars know the Greek language; they are very fond both of speaking it and of writing it; they call it the language of their teachers, the language of those who civilized their fathers, and who will again bring back to themselves and to their children the culture which they have lost.'

It ought to be kept in mind that the above words were written, in 1844, by an author whose sympathy with the Bulgars went the length of suggesting Thessalonica as the capital of their future State. After that, no one can accuse him of Philhellenism.

Twenty years later, another French observer, the lamented M. Albert Dumont, in remarking the progress made by the Bulgars, made exactly the same observation as to the influence exercised over them by the Greeks. 'Of all the different nations,' he says, 'which inhabit Turkey in Europe, the Bulgars have hitherto been the most peaceable. They have not been induced to revolt against the Porte either by the example of the Bosniaks or of the Servians, of the Greeks or of the Albanians. Nevertheless, within the last ten years they have passed through a silent revolution, or, rather, a transformation, which has already begun to bear important fruits. They have begun to educate themselves, and they have conceived the hope of a better future. This movement best deserves to be studied in this district [which has since become Eastern Roumelia], because this district was its birthplace, owing to the stimulating influence exercised upon the Bulgars by the contact with Greeks and with the Greek activity and intelligence' (*Le Balkan et l' Adriatique*, pp. 130-1).

I prefer citing these different foreign writers, because I wish to place myself beyond the reach of the accusation of prejudice. However, I might have added the witness of my own experience. When I was a child, I knew a good many Bulgars. We did not distinguish between them and Greeks. They sought Greek women in marriage, by preference, rather than wed their own countrywomen, and many of the children of such marriages must have had hard work to learn their paternal tongue before being accepted as Bulgars indeed. Of the elderly men who hold some position in the two Principalities, many, if not most, have had a Greek education at the schools of Constantinople or even at the University of Athens. They cannot have looked upon this as any great hardship, since their National awakening owes its existence to the influence of Greece. However, that is all changed now. The later generations have been sent to Russia, or elsewhere, for their education and their ideas. The Greek language is spoken no more; on the contrary, the fact of having acquired it is concealed. The great wish now is to owe nothing to Greece.

How has this change come about?

Some people have been anxious to find the explanation in the pretended tyranny of the Greek clergy. I am not going to set myself up here as the advocate of the Greek clergy. I will merely point out the fact that there were no Greek clergy at all in Bulgaria, with the exception of the Archbishops and Bishops named by the Patriarchate, and the few Deacons who were their personal attendants. The general body of the clergy were Bulgars. The Church Service was performed in the Slavonic language, or, where the population was sufficiently mixed, in both Slavonic and Greek. I grant that among these Bishops there have been many who brought little credit upon their character of shepherds of souls. But, again, these Prelates, whether in Bulgaria or anywhere else, were not representatives of the Hellenic Idea. As they came from the Patriarchate, they were invested with a certain amount of that temporal jurisdiction which had been bestowed upon the Patriarchs by Mahomet II. Thus they exercised within their dioceses an authority received from the Turks, and so formed

a part of the Government of the oppressor. But this was a feature from which the Greek inhabitants had to suffer just as much as the Bulgars. The Bulgars were fully aware that it was so, and it never occurred to them that the venality of the upper clergy was any reason for estranging themselves from their Greek neighbours, even after they had taken up the idea of having a National Church of their own. M. Cyprien Robert's book is a sufficing testimony upon this point. No; the question of giving the Bulgars a National Church of their own has been nothing but a pretext most skilfully used for a political purpose, the true aim of which has only come to light by degrees.

The Crimean War checked Russia, for a moment, in the execution of those designs which she had nourished for centuries, and it was only on the morrow of the Crimean War that she took the Bulgars under her exclusive protection. The Greeks had ceased to be of any more use to her in her Eastern policy; they are too much drawn towards the West both by their natural instincts of race, and by their interests. The Servians are a great deal too close to Austria, and their historical traditions, in spite of their kinship of race, make them almost as difficult to manage as the Greeks. The Bulgars offered no such obstacles. For the purpose of making them play the desired part, there were two principal means at hand. One was the principle of Nationalism, and the other was the allied notion of having a National Church. And these means were worked accordingly.

The peculiar phase of Russian policy thus indicated has become identified with a name now famous, namely, that of General Ignatieff, so long, and until the last Russo-Turkish War, Russian Ambassador at Constantinople. On this policy I decline here to express any opinion. I confine myself to bearing testimony that it has been carried out with the most consummate ability.

The idea of the National Bulgarian Church was first started in 1856. It made its appearance in the form of a petition to the Sultan, in which the signatories, styling themselves the Representatives of the Bulgarian people, practically besought

His Imperial Majesty to grant to the Bulgars (as though they were already a distinct body within the Ottoman Empire) the same privileges enjoyed by the Œcumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople; to recognise their Church as an independent body, in the same way as the Patriarchal Church is recognised; and to allow them, as well as the Patriarchate, to have their ecclesiastical head-quarters in Constantinople. Four years afterwards, on April 3, 1860, Archbishop Hilarion, publicly officiating in the Church of St. Stephen, at Ortakieue in Constantinople, proclaimed the independence of the Bulgarian Church, by omitting from the public prayers the name of the Patriarch of Constantinople. According to the rules of our Church, this act was in itself schism, and entailed excommunication. At last, in 1870, the Sublime Porte published the firman by which it authorized the formation of the Bulgarian Exarchate. The Greek Patriarch was thus at last compelled to proclaim the schism, in other words, to call public attention to the fact that it had pleased the Bulgars to secede from the Communion of the Greek Church. According to the laws of the Turkish Empire, the Bulgars should now have been obliged to find some new costume for their clergy, since these laws do not permit the ministers of one denomination to disguise themselves in the distinctive dress of those of another. But this official recognition of the fact of the separation would have probably had some awkward consequences for the seceders. The true state of things would then have been revealed to the eyes of the most ignorant, and they might have found many less disposed to abandon the Church of their fathers, so long ruled by the Patriarchs. Moreover, greater difficulties would have been put in the way of appropriating the ecclesiastical and educational buildings belonging to the Greek Church. It became an object, then, to prevent the Porte recognizing the new Communion as such, and the screw from outside was, as a matter of fact, so effectually worked that the recognition in question has never been made up to this day. For the same reason, an unceasing attempt has been made to put a similar screw upon the Patriarchate, with a view to have the declaration of schism withdrawn, which would consider-

ably facilitate the operations of Panslavist propagandists in Macedonia and Thrace, where the Exarchate does not make any secret that it means to set up an hierarchy of Bulgar Bishops as soon as it can. Meanwhile, everything has been done to weaken the Patriarchate. It was thought that the despoiling of its goods might deprive it of the power to resist. Accordingly, its possessions in Wallachia were confiscated by the Government of Prince Couza. This act was generally believed to have been done at the desire of the powerful neighbour on her Eastern frontier, and the belief in question was not dissipated when the Russian Government proceeded to seize the property of the Greek Church in Bessarabia.

And, nevertheless, when all has been done, it would not seem that the work of Bulgarizing Macedonia is getting on quite so quickly and so easily as the workers could wish. The book already cited, *Macedonia at the Millenary of Methodius*, says:—‘There are many examples of the fact that the Bulgars of Macedonia and Adrianople* will only give up their Greek Bishops and recognise the Bulgarian Exarchate on condition that they have to pay nothing. This is painful; but it is true. It is more than certain that if the Exarchate were to lay upon these Bulgars the slightest Church contribution, many of them would at once acknowledge the Greek Bishop’ (p. 66).

The Bulgars have many good qualities. They are docile, hard-working, and peaceable; and recent events show that they can fight well. Some people have reproached them with intellectual obtuseness. I do not wish to think anything of the kind, but, even if it were so, we need not perhaps consider the Bulgars any the worse off. During the latest phase of their history such a feature would certainly have done them no harm. The cleverest people are not always the people who manage their own affairs the most wisely, especially their external affairs. If the recent affairs of the Bulgars have been managed for them by others, the management has at any rate been so remarkably well done, that we may fairly congratulate them upon having left it in such able hands.

* By ‘Adrianople’ understand *Thrace*.

It may also be sometimes rather an advantage not to be burdened with too glorious an history; only, where such is the case, he who is free from any such encumbrance ought to adapt himself to the circumstances of his case, and not to fall into the error of a man without a pedigree who makes himself ridiculous by parading a forged string of imaginary ancestors. It is a proud thing to have a glorious history, but it is not less noble to will to make one—a young nation has its future before it, and the Bulgars are a young nation, although they cannot be called a new one. They have been settled between the Danube and the Balkans for the last twelve hundred years. May be it is not all their own fault that they are still in leading-strings.

The obscure question whether they are by race Slavs or Turanians, is one which it seems to me idle to discuss here. What they talk, at least at present, is a Slav form of speech. They want to be Slavs. They have been admitted into the brotherhood of Slav nations. That is enough for our present purpose. We must look upon the Bulgars as being at any rate practically Slav, while we examine what they have been, what they are, and what they hope to be.

This examination has hitherto been left almost exclusively to Slavs or Slavophiles, gushing with sympathy for the Bulgars. I would not for one moment be understood to call in question, for this reason, either the honesty or the culture of such learned persons. Moreover, there is no doubt that it is natural—indeed, there is something noble in it—to be carried away by a generous enthusiasm, in taking the position of a party advocate, and that, more especially, when the cause to be advocated is passing through a very critical episode, and is anything but won. But the very least of the dangers which beset such enthusiasm is that of distorting facts from what they are into the form which best suits the advocate's prepossessions, and this he is liable unconsciously to do, even while his intentions are the most honest in the world. Nor, since I have come to speak of distortion, can I help adverting to certain ethnographical maps which are now to be seen in circulation, and in which the ethnological frontier of Bulgaria is drawn so as to embrace locali-

ties as purely Greek as Southern Macedonia, including even the Chalcidic Peninsula and Mount Athos itself. I am very likely to be told that Greeks, on the other hand, have been known to publish ethnographical maps, in which the limits of the Hellenic population were no less exaggerated; and indeed I should find myself hard pressed to rebut such an accusation. I will only remark that the fate of the Greek chartographers ought to have served for a warning to the Bulgars or Bulgarophiles, by showing them that something more than the arrangement of maps is needed before the nationality of a country can be changed.

Statistics have been treated on the same principle as the maps. We are told on all sides that there are five millions of Bulgars. Now, the official statistics* are based upon the census made by Bulgars themselves, and, according to them, the entire population of the Principality of Bulgaria amounts to 1,998,983 souls, all told, of whom 66 per cent. are Bulgars by nationality; that is to say, there exist in Bulgaria 1,319,500 Bulgars. In Eastern Roumelia there are 815,946 souls, of whom 70 per cent.—or 561,000—are Bulgars. The total number of Bulgars, therefore, on both sides of the Balkans, is 1,880,500. And if we take the whole population of the two Principalities, without regard to whether they are Bulgars or not, it amounts to 2,815,000 inhabitants. Whence then come the rest of the 5,000,000? The population of Macedonia is very difficult to gauge, but even if that name be reckoned, for the sake of argument, to cover a very much wider territory than is allowed to it by Greek geographers, the remaining millions could not be found there. In 1844, M. Cyprien Robert reckoned the number of Bulgars at 4,500,000, but if he had been right, they would have doubled before now; and they themselves have been pleased only to name 5,000,000. As a matter of fact, the key to this singular piece of statistic is possibly to be found in the work of M. Cyprien Robert himself, in an anecdote which sparkles with all the enchanting guileless-

* See Otto Hübner, *Geographisch-statistische Tabellen*. W. Rommel, Frankfurt, 1885.

ness of childhood. He tells us as follows (Vol. I., p. 248):—

‘During the first months of my sojourn among the Bulgarians, when they asked me, as they were constantly doing, where I came from, and I replied “from Frankistan.” They used to say, “How lucky thou art, O brother, to come from a country where the people are all Bulgars.” “Bulgars?” I exclaimed “why, I never saw such a thing!” They answered, “What! are there no Bulgars in the land of the Franks? Even thou thyself, art thou not a Bulgar?” When I replied to this last question that my countrymen and I most certainly were not Bulgars, I noticed that they hung their heads sadly, and said no more. It was only later, and after the above conversation had taken place several times, that I discovered that they thought that *all Christians are Bulgars.*’

Certainly, on this principle, it is hard to guess where the Bulgar claims to extent of population are likely to stop.

The history of the Bulgars can, I think, be summed up in a very few words. Between the year 679, when they settled where they are, and 1382, when Bulgaria was swallowed up in the tide of Mohammedan conquest, there has three times been a Bulgarian Kingdom. The first was that of the Czar Simeon, and was destroyed by the Emperor John Zimiskes. The second was that of Samuel, and was destroyed by Basil II. The third was that of John Aslan, and was destroyed by the Sultan Bajazet. During these three periods the southern frontier of Bulgaria has been more than once pressed forward for the moment beyond the Balkans, and has touched Greek countries, but it has never reached the shores of the Ægean. During the chaos which followed the Fourth Crusade, Thessalonica often changed hands between the Greeks and the Franks, but never did the Bulgars set foot there.*

From the days of Bajazet until our own, nothing had ever disturbed the reign of Turkey over Bulgaria. There never was any insurrection. It is quite true that attempts have been made to bring forward the celebrated Paswan Oglou as an instance of a Bulgar insurgent; but this Mohammedan, whom the Porte finally appointed Vizir of Widdin, cared just as much, and no more, about the autonomy of Bulgaria, as Ali, the Pasha of Janina, did about the independence of Greece. Bulgaria never turned in her sleep till after the Greek Revolution.

* See Freeman's *Historical Geography of Europe.*

Her waking was very slow. When the Russian army appeared there in 1828, they found her still quite indisposed to rise. In 1830, the Duke of Wellington received from Sir R. Gordon a detailed report upon the whole campaign, executed by Captain Chesney after that officer had spent three months in travelling about the scene of the war. The only instance of any patriotic activity on the part of Bulgars which he met with, was that of one particular village where the Turks had burnt down the houses of the Christians. In this case the Christians, when assured that the Russians were on the point of arriving, avenged themselves by setting fire to the houses of the Turks, and sixty of them took up arms. 'Elsewhere,' says Captain Chesney, 'there has been no disposition amongst the Bulgarians to join the Russians, nor would they do so in case of a future war. . . . Whatever contests may arise, the Bulgarian will most likely remain passively cultivating the soil, attending his flocks, and enjoying that rough portion of plenty which his cottage (sunk in the ground) always affords.*' Clearly, Capt. Chesney was not endowed with the gift of prophecy.

It is not more than thirty years ago since Russia again brought Bulgaria to the notice of the world. As has been already remarked, she began by starting the Church question. The reasonable complaints of the Bulgars on this subject would have been perfectly satisfied by the nomination of Slav Bishops to those dioceses in which the Bulgar element is predominant. But there was a great deal more meant by this cry than the mere getting rid of Greek Prelates. What was asked was the creation of a National Church of Bulgaria separate from the Greek Church of Constantinople. The Greek Church allows the existence of independent National Churches where there are independent nations, but so long as the Bulgars were the subjects of the Porte, it was impossible for the Patriarchate to consent to the setting up of two separate Orthodox Churches in the same country. The Patriarchate appealed to the rule which does not allow one community to have

* *Despatches, &c., of the Duke of Wellington, Vol. VI. p. 483.*

two heads, any more than two communities to have the same head. However, the plan went on. The Turkish Government having been persuaded that it was in its own interest to have a division between the Greeks and the Bulgars, became the instrument of Russian diplomacy. The Porte recognized the existence of the National Church of Bulgaria, and the Bulgarian Exarchate was established at Constantinople as a standing menace to the Greek Patriarchate.

As soon as Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia were made into independent Principalities, the Patriarchate would have been delighted to recognize the Bulgarian Church, in the same way that it recognises the churches of Russia, of Greece, of Servia, and of Roumania. But this is not at all what is desired by the pullers of the Bulgar wires. By them it is desired that the Bulgarian Church should not be confined within the frontiers of the two Bulgarian States, but should exist wherever there are Bulgars—and there are Bulgars everywhere. For the Bulgar view on that subject it is only necessary to call to mind M. Cyprien Robert's experiences with regard to their idea of France.

It has been a great misfortune that the element of religious difference has been allowed to additionally embitter the jealousies which diversity of race and conflict of interests were already powerful enough to stir up in Eastern Christendom. To what lengths these jealousies can be carried, we have at present proof enough in the events which pass before our eyes. It is to be hoped that in course of time these painful differences will pass away. In the very midst of the present struggle, there are, at least as seems to me, signs of a more hopeful future. The question of the equilibrium of the Balkan States outweighs even the question of race. We see that this question of the equilibrium has been enough to plunge two of the Slav States—Servia and Bulgaria—into a fratricidal war, and at the same time to bring Servia into an alliance, understood if unwritten, with the Hellenes. Yet people have been found who are ready to jest at the question of the equilibrium. But the preservation of the equilibrium is essential to the future peace of the East. In the deliberations of the Powers represented at

Berlin, it held a chief place. The frontiers of Servia, of Bulgaria, and of Greece, were there carefully and specially drawn so that each of these States might have a population of about two millions. Thus Count Kalnoky, addressing the Austrian Envoys on Nov. 7, expressly said:—‘By the treaty of Berlin it was undoubtedly intended to establish a sort of equilibrium among the States of the Balkan Peninsula. It is impossible for any one of these States to upset that equilibrium for her own individual aggrandisement, without arousing just resentment upon the part of her neighbours. If the Bulgarian movement were to be carried from Roumelia into Macedonia, the interests of Greece would be undoubtedly jeopardised.’ It is a misunderstanding of their own interests which causes the divisions among these nations. When they understand their own interests better, they will be drawn together. There is plenty of room in the Balkan Peninsula for them all, and their respective aspirations can well be combined in one common understanding as soon as they agree to a common policy of compromise and conciliation.

To such a common understanding, the aspirations of Greece offer no obstacle whatsoever. Greece makes no extravagant pretensions. There may be still some warm hearts, some enthusiastic imaginations, that delight in visions of the past and are roused by the Great Idea of raising again the Christian Empire once enthroned at Byzantium. But that idea has long ago ceased to govern the thoughts of those who now-a-days guide the destinies of Greece. It no longer actuates the movements of our national policy. It is not with the object of setting up a Greek empire at Constantinople that the Greek people are now ready to rise like one man. What we are struggling and longing to do is this. We hope to have a Greek State with a Northern frontier starting Eastwards from the Adriatic at some point north of Corfu, and reaching the Ægean at some point east of the Chalcidic Peninsula, including such part of Macedonia as is Greek. The Island of Crete would be our farthest limit Southward. We would fain see Montenegro aggrandized, and, between such a Montenegro and ourselves, an emancipated Albania, either

autonomous or attached to ourselves by a brotherly tie. We would that our Northern frontier should meet those of a fully expanded Serbia, and of an enlarged and united Bulgaria, embracing not only the actual Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia, but also all territory which is really inhabited by Bulgars.

These are the limits of Greek aspiration !

Of course this does not mean that when Greece should be thus constituted, she would become callous to the fate of the Greeks outside her borders. She never could forget the ties which bind her to her children who would still remain separated from her in Europe, or those her more numerous children in Asia Minor. But the notion of gathering all Greek populations together into one great Greek State is, and would be, just as impracticable now as it was in the days of the antients. During the classical period of Greek history the Greek people (setting aside their Western colonies, which have now disappeared), occupied exactly the same territories as they still do at the present day. They did not then form a single State any more than they do now, but they did and do form a single whole which is called *Hellenism*. And Hellenism can again be all that it has been. But if part of the Greek world is to be swallowed up in an unjustly expanded Bulgaria, or in an extension of Russia to the shores of the Bosphoros, the part so devoured may perhaps be lost to Hellenism for ever. Under the present Government of the Porte they have every chance of preserving their nationality intact. The changes which have been introduced into the Turkish administration, at least in these regions, subsequently to the Greek War of Independence, the abatement of savagery, the absence of a proselytizing attitude towards other religions, the traditions of the administration, and the very interests of Turkey herself, all seem to promise a free development for the natural and national genius of such Hellenes as may have still to remain under the Turkish rule, whether in Europe or in Asia.

For my own opinion is that Turkey is destined still to remain in Europe. She will give up her Western provinces, which are her source of weakness, and will concentrate herself in Thrace. If she would only rid herself of the difficul-

ties caused her by those European territories with which the Treaty of Berlin has left her still hampered, and rest upon Asia, she could still assure herself a long era of prosperity at Constantinople. Her stability there would be secured by the very jealousies of the other States of the Balkan Peninsula. The great difficulty in the whole Eastern Question has always been:—Who is to have Constantinople? It was the mutual rivalry of the Christian Powers which originally made the Ottoman Conquest possible. It is this same rivalry which has kept Turkey in existence from the days of Peter the Great till our own. And this same rivalry is still ready to serve Turkey—and to serve her better than ever—in the new lease of life, which, for my part, I believe to be before her. The newly restored States which will surround her will be at once her allies and her supports. Thus there may soon be seen in the Balkan Peninsula a true confederation of independent and contented States, bound each to all by the respective interests of each. The efforts of each and all would be turned in one direction, namely, the path of progress and of civilization. Europe would no longer be harrassed and troubled by an Eastern Question.

But while I sketch in colours so bright the outlines of a possible future, I do not forget how anxious a moment is the present. We are both in the midst and on the eve of events of which it is impossible to predict either the issues or the consequences. We are face to face with the unknown. But, whatever may happen,—however we may yet be tried,—the Christian East has and will have rights based on justice. These rights are rights which have a foundation other than rights which are based upon Treaties, that is to say, upon force, and those who are compelled to yield to force have this comfort, that they believe that force is not everlastingly mighty to crush right. It has been in thus believing that the Greeks have hoped on through their centuries of woe. It will be in thus believing that they will still continue to nerve themselves, if their efforts now are destined to be for the while vain. They believe that the right is on their side; and therefore they hope.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΒΙΚΕΛΛΑΣ.

ART. II.—BARBOUR'S LEGENDS OF THE SAINTS.

*Barbour's des Schottischen Nationaldichters Legendensammlung
nebst den Fragmenten seines Trojanerkrieges. Zum ersten
mal herausgegeben und kritisch bearbeitet von C. HORSTMANN.
2 Banden. Heilbronn.*

THE discovery of this long unknown collection of metrical Legends from the hand of John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, who may not unfitly be regarded as Scotland's great national poet of the fourteenth century, is due to Mr. Henry Bradshaw, late of the University Library at Cambridge, whose singularly noble career was some weeks ago so suddenly terminated to the great loss of the world of letters; while whatever honour (and it is by no means inconsiderable) belongs to its publication must be ascribed to Dr. C. Horstmann of Berlin, and to his publishers, the Brothers Henninger of Heilbronn. The discovery of the work is one of those pieces of good fortune which one naturally expects to fall from time to time to the custodians of a great and ancient library; but whether the second fact we have mentioned is creditable to Scottish scholarship and to Scottish literary enterprise, to say nothing of patriotism, we must leave our readers to judge. Attention is called to it here in the hope that it may awaken a more lively interest in the mediæval literature of the country, and stimulate a more active search after its still undiscovered remains.

That such remains still exist, it is scarcely possible seriously to doubt. The monks were a race of imitators, and the monks of Scotland must have been extremely unlike their brethren south of the Tweed and elsewhere if they were not in possession of numerous homilies and versions of the lives of the Apostles and Saints in the vernacular. That all these were destroyed by the English during the invasions of Edward III. we can scarcely believe, notwithstanding the assertions of Fordun, or rather of his continuator Bower,* and of Boece.† And even supposing they were, what

* Skene's Fordun, I. p. xlix. † *Hist. Scot.*, fol. 298, edit. 1576

has become of the Corpus Christi plays which were performed year by year at Edinburgh and Aberdeen;* of the 'diverse comedies and tragedies in the Scottish tongue,' written by James Wedderburn, elder brother to the compilers of the *Book of Gude and Godlie Ballats*, and performed in the playfield of Dundee;† or of the Scottish versions of Crabit Johne the Reif, Orpheus kyng of Portingal, The Pystyl of Swete Susan, and of many other songs, ballads, and romances, once popular amongst almost all classes of society in Scotland, but known now only by name, or by versions written in one or other of the Southern dialects? The discovery of Barbour's *Legends of the Saints* and of the fragments of his poem on the Trojan War seems to hold out the promise that a more active and exhaustive search than has yet been made for these interesting, and we may add, precious remains of the past, will not go unrewarded. At all events, it is high time that something more were done in the direction indicated, and that it were done by those whose interest in the matter ought to be unrivalled.

Dr. Horstmann's work in editing the Barbour Legends is remarkably well done, and but for one or two faults, or peculiarities as we ought probably to call them, might be held up as a model. The introduction is admirable, well arranged, clearly written, and full almost to overflowing with information of the most recondite kind. The notes are models of conciseness, and the textual emendations proposed are for the most part good, though to some of them, were it our intention here to enter upon a critical examination of the text we should feel constrained to object. On the other hand, no grammar is given of the dialect in which the Legends are written, and for anything in the shape of a glossary we look in vain, but as the edition is intended to be 'scientific,' and has been prepared for students, we suppose we must put up with these omissions, though from a popular point of view they can scarcely fail to constitute serious defects. The distribution of the materials which ought to have formed the contents of the two volumes, whose title we have given above, is to say the least peculiar. The introduction to the Barbour

* Miss Toulmin Smith's *York Plays*, p. lxxv.

† Maxwell's *History of Old Dundee*, pp. 415-16.

Legends is contained in an altogether different work, and it is not a little tantalizing when one has read to the end of the first volume and is expecting to see the Legend of St. Machor, one of the best of the series, to find instead of the legend, nothing more than its title and the information that it has been printed elsewhere. Surely if the Legends were worth printing at all, they ought to have been printed together and to have been prefaced with their appropriate introduction. As it is, if the reader wishes to own a complete copy of the Barbour Legends, he has to purchase not only the volumes which profess to contain them, but also another and equally expensive work. This may be all very well for the publishers, but, we will venture to add, it is not altogether fair to the public. There are other matters we feel bound to refer to, though in these the editor is not to blame, but rather his publishers. The type used in printing the Legends is small, the paper is bad, and the binding a mere apology. One of the volumes before us came to pieces on first opening. When will German publishers learn to use decent paper and to bind their books so that the sheets will at least hold together under the most gentle handling? But notwithstanding the strictures we have felt ourselves compelled to make, we gladly give to Dr. Horstmann's book, and indeed to all the works we have seen from his hands, the most cordial welcome, and would again call attention to his introduction to the Barbour Legends* as a very excellent performance, and more particularly as in the following pages, where our aim is less to criticise, and rather to give our readers some knowledge of the Barbour Legends, we shall have occasion to draw somewhat upon it.

Of Barbour's personal history comparatively little is known. He is supposed to have been born at Aberdeen sometime between the years 1316 and 1330 and to have received his education at the Monastery of Arbroath. This, however, is little more than conjecture. Neither the place nor the date of his birth is known, nor is the place where he obtained his education. The first authentic date connected with him is August 13, 1357, on which day he received from Edward III., at the

* *Altenglische Legenden, Neue Folge*, p. lxxxix-cix. Heilbronn. 1881.

request of the Scottish king, a safe-conduct for himself and three companions to proceed to Oxford for the purposes of study.* In the month following he was appointed by the Bishop of Aberdeen one of his three proxies to assist in the deliberations of the Commissioners about to assemble in Edinburgh for the purpose of raising money to ransom David from his English prison.† Seven years later, November 6, 1364, he received a second passport from Edward III. which authorised him to visit England with four horsemen, in order to study at Oxford or elsewhere as he might deem expedient.‡ In the following year, October, 16, 1365, Edward granted him permission to pass through England with six companions on horseback to St. Denis, besides Paris, and other sacred places; and as late as the 30th of November, 1368, letters of safe-conduct were granted to him to proceed with two servants and two horses through the English dominions to France.§ As in the first of these letters Barbour is already styled Archdeacon of Aberdeen, the inference would seem to be that he undertook the journeys mentioned not merely as a student desirous of completing his education, but as a scholar in quest of information and materials to be afterwards turned to account in his literary works. His nomination to the National Council in Edinburgh, while indicating the esteem in which he was held, would seem to show that already in 1357 he had seen a considerable number of years, and to lend support to the conjecture that he was born soon after the battle of Bannockburn. In the Legends we have the following reference to his travels:—

‘Qwene that yunge mane I was,
I trawalyt oft in sere place,
Sic thinge in my yuthe to lere
Quhare-with myne elde I mycht stere,
And drew me to gud mene, parde,
Thocht lytil thare-of be bydyne one me.
The trawalouris thane custume had,
That alday yed ore rad
And for trawale ware wery :
Quhene thai come til thar herbry,
And namely fra thai mycht it se,

* *Rotuli Scotiae*, I., p. 808.

† *Rymer*, VI., 39.

‡ *Rotuli Scotiae*, I., 886.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 926.

Quhethyr that it ware scho ore he,
 Hat or hud tak of ore clath,
 The rycht fut of the sterape rath,
 And to sancte Julyane dewotly
 A pater-noster say in hy,
 In hope that al gud herbry suld haf
 That in sik wyse it suld crafe.
 Sic hope ine to sancte Julyane
 The traulouris thane had tane,
 As mony mene yet are
 That sammyne oysis, here and thare.
 Bot, for that fele, ma thane ane,
 Haly mene are callit Julyane,
 I yarnyt to wyt quhilk was he
 Mene socht ine sic neceasyte."

Though Barbour never attained to any higher ecclesiastical preferment than that of Archdeacon of Aberdeen, he occupied a position of considerable eminence and held several offices of importance. In 1372, he was one of the auditors of the Court of Exchequer, and again in the following year, when he was also clerk of audit of the King's household. As an auditor of the Court of Exchequer he is mentioned also in 1382 and the two next following years.† According to the Exchequer Rolls he received, besides monies due for his services,‡ several gifts from the King varying from five to ten pounds, the latter sum, which he received in 1377, a couple of years therefore after the completion of *The Brus*, was given probably in consideration of that work.§ A year later he obtained by charter to himself and his assigns an annuity of twenty shillings out of the fermes of Aberdeen.|| The power of assignation he exercised in favour of Aberdeen Cathedral for the celebration of his anniversary. After his death the twenty shillings were paid over to the Dean and Chapter and in the Exchequer Rolls of 1428, 1429, and subsequent years the pension is expressly said to have been granted to Barbour 'pro compilacione libri gestis quondam regis Roberti de

* Vol. I. 218.

† *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, II., pp. 385, 428, 469; III., 84, 111, 657, 663, 670.

‡ *Ibid.*, III., 661. § *Ibid.*, 136, 675, 681. || *Ibid.*, p. 25, etc.

Brus.' In 1380 and again in 1388 Barbour received further marks of the Royal favour. The first was the gift of the ward of a minor whose estates lay within his parish,* and the second, a yearly pension of ten pounds to be paid to him out of the great customs of the burgh of Aberdeen.† In addition to these payments and pensions he received the revenue of his prebend, the whole tithes and dues of the parish of Rayne, in the Garioch, and must have derived a considerable income also from his judicial office as Archdeacon. According to the Exchequer Rolls his annual pension of ten pounds was paid to him for the last time on the 3rd of April, 1395,‡ and on the 25th of the same month of the following year his pension of twenty shillings was paid to the Dean and Chapter of Aberdeen.§ His death must therefore have occurred between these dates. In all probability it took place, as Professor Cosmo Innes has pointed out, on the 13th of March, 1395, the 13th of March being the day on which an anniversary was celebrated in Aberdeen Cathedral down to the Reformation, for the soul of Master John Barbour, sometime Archdeacon of Aberdeen.

Up to the discovery of the *Legends of the Saints* and the fragments on the Trojan War, Barbour was known as the author of two works, *The Brus* and *The Brute*. Of the two the former only has come down to us. The date of its composition is fixed by the following lines:—

' And in tym of the compiling
Of this buk this Robert was king,
And of his kinrik passit was
Fif yher, and was the yher of gras
Ane thousand, thre hundreth, sevinty
And fif.'||

That it is not a mere metrical chronicle of the reign of Bruce, but a genuine national epic, with freedom for its central and animating idea, and that it contains many noble passages, need hardly be said. Few who have read it can forget the splendid lines:—

' A ! fredom is ane nobill thing,

* *Registr. Episc. Aberdon.*, I., 201. † *Excheq. Rolls*, III., 208, etc.

‡ Vol. III., 360. § *Ibid.*, p. 395.

|| *The Brus*, Spalding Club Edit., X. 75, 80.

Fredom mais man to haf liking,
 Fredom all solas to man gis,
 He lifis at es that frely lifis.
 Ane nobill hart may haf nane es,
 Na ellis nocht that may him ples
 Gif fredom falyhe, for fre liking
 Is yharnit our all othir thing,
 Na he that ay hes livit fre
 May nocht know wele the propirte,
 The angir, na the wrechit dom
 That is couplit to foul thrildom,
 Bot gif he had assait it ;
 Than all perquer he suld it wit,
 And suld think fredom mar to pris
 Than all the gold in warld that is.
 Thus contrar thingis evirmar
 Discoveringis of the tothir ar,
 And he that thrill is has nocht his,
 All that he has enbandonit is
 Till his lord quhatevir he be,
 Yhet has he nocht sa mekill fre
 As fre will to lef or do
 It that his hart him drawis to.*

Of this poem only two MSS. have survived to the present; one of which is in the Library of St. John's College Cambridge, and the other, in the Advocates' Library Edinburgh. The work was first printed at Edinburgh by the famous Scottish printer, Andrew Hart, in 1616. The two texts have recently been printed by the Early English Text Society, but as yet no successful attempt has been made to construct a reliable text.

The Brute is known only from the Orygynal Cronykil of Andrew Wyntoun and Bower's continuation of Fordun. Its character may be gathered from the following lines from the Cronykil :—

' This Nynus had a sone alsua
 Sere Dardane lord de Frygya,
 Fra quhom Barbere sutely
 Has made a propyr genealogy
 Tyll Robert oure secownd kyng
 That Scotland had in governyng.†
 ' Of Brutus' lyneage quha wyll her,
 He luke the Tretis off Barbere,

* IV., 47-70.

† II. i., 131.

Mad in tyll a Genealogy
 Rycht wele, and mare perfytyl
 Than I can on ony wys
 Wytht all my wyt to yowe dewys.*
 'The Stewartis Orygenalle
 The Archedekyne has tretyd hale
 In metyre fayre, mare wertwaly
 Than I can thynk be my study,
 Be gud contynwatiown
 In successayve generatyown.†

The work, it would therefore appear, was a metrical version of the fable which connects the royal race of Britain with Brutus, Prince of Troy. Bower accuses Barbour of misrepresenting the origin of the Stewarts, and there seems strong reason to suspect him, as Mr. Burnett remarks, of having originated the long accepted story of their descent from the Scottish king Ethus through the fabulous Banquo and his son Fleance.

The *Trojan War*, for the discovery of the fragments of which we are also indebted to Mr. Bradshaw, is an altogether different work, and is founded, like *The Gest Historiale of the Destruction of Troy*, edited some years ago by Messrs. Panton and Donaldson for the Early English Text Society, on the *Historia Destructionis Troiae* of Guido da Colonna. The fragments are contained in Lydgate's *Troy Book*, and are clearly marked off from Lydgate's work, and proved to be Barbour's by the insertion in the text of the notes, 'Her endis Barbour and begynnys the monk'; 'Her endis the monk ande begynnys Barbour.' The poem must have been of considerable length, as the fragments, which contain but a comparatively small portion of it, run out to over three thousand seven hundred lines. Dr. Horstmann has printed the text of the Cambridge and the Douce MSS. At the end of the latter we have the words: 'Heire endis the sege of Troye, writtine and mendit at the instance of ane honi chaplane, Sir Thomas Ewyne in Edinburgh.'

Harry the Minstrel refers to other works of Barbour's besides *The Brus*.

* III. iii., 139. + VIII. vii., 1145.

' Master Barbour, quhilk was a worthi clerk
He said the Bruce among his othir werk.'

What this, or what these were, for the phrase is plainly used in a plural or collective sense, is not precisely known. In all probability the reference is to *The Brute* and *The Trojan War*, but whether to any other it would be difficult to say. One of the most interesting and important features in connection with Mr. Bradshaw's discovery of the *Legends of the Saints* is that it involves other discoveries, and among them that Barbour was an extremely voluminous writer, and that in addition to the works already named, he composed a series of others, of which the *Legends of the Saints* forms only the concluding portion. What these were may be gathered from the following lines in the Prologue to the *Legends*:—

- . . . for til eschew ydilnes
I hafe translatit symply
Sume part, as I fand in story,
Of Mary and hir sone Jhesu,
40 That as I trew is notyt now
In syndry placis in wryt,
To gere deuot mene think one it :
Hou oure lady consawit ves
And of hir birth the blissitnes,
45 And of dedis of hir barned
And hou scho cane* hir-selwyne led
Demaynand hir althing ewine
Til scho consawit godis sone of hewyne
Thru steryng of the haly gest
50 Scho beand altyme vergine chaste :
And how that Crist ves of hire borne,
To ransome mankynd that ves lorne,
And hou scho fosteryt hyme and fed,
And hou in Egipe, syne hyme led,
55 And hou, quhene ded ves Herrod fel,
Scho (came) agane til Israel ;
And forthir of this story syne,
Til he of watere mad the wyne.
Syne tuk I one hand to tret
60 Forthire and of the Ewangel speke,

* So Dr. Horstmann reads for cā; the sense seems to require cam (came).

- Makand thare sume mencione
 Richt to Cristis ascencione,
 Tretand thar-effire be lele witnes
 Hou that Criste rase in to that flesch,
 65 That he had tane of oure lady,
 And hou til hel he went in hy,
 And of the merwalis he vrocht thare,
 And hou he brocht vs fra the care ;
 And hou that Longius, the knycht,
 70 That of his ene had tynt the sycht
 And mad yet thare in Cristis ayd
 A slope, that ves bath lang and vyd,
 Vith ane scharpe spere apone the rud,
 Bot, quhene til his hand rane the blud
 75 And vith that hand (he) twechit his he,
 Thru grace of god he cane to se,
 And syne of god sic grace he had
 That for hyme he ves martyre mad.
 And of his modire syne sad I
 80 Sume thing, tho it be rudly :
 Hou scho demanyt hir flesche
 Til saule and body to-gydir ves :
 Syne mad I furth sume mencione
 Of Criste and his compassione
 85 That scho in til hire hart had hyd,
 Quhene scho saw hou the jouys ded
 Vith hyme that scho of body bare,
 The quhilk that scho saw pynit thare ;
 Syne mad I furth mencione
 90 Of hir ded and hir assumpcione,
 And hou Crist in hewine but wene
 His modir cronyit and mad quene,
 Syne of ferlyis that war wrocht
 Be hir in erd, lefit I nocht
 95 Til I haf* mad thaim redy
 In novmer sex and sixty.
 And yet vald I, and I mycht
 Na var eld and falt of sycht,
 Of the twelf appostolis spek now
 100 That var rycht dere one-til Jhesu.'

From this it is evident that previous to undertaking the *Legends of the Saints*, Barbour had composed, or as he says, 'translatit

* Had ?

simply'—doubtless from the New Testament, and probably also from the Apocryphal Gospels—a poem, or series of poems, of which the following were the divisions:—1. The Conception (cf. v. 43), Birth (44), and Life of Mary to the Conception of Jesus (45-50):—2. The Birth of Jesus (51-3), Flight into Egypt, the Return from Egypt (54-6), and the Life of Jesus down to the Marriage Feast at Cana in Galilee (57-8):—3. The Life of Jesus from His first miracle to His Ascension (58-62):—4. The Descent into Hell, after the first part of the *Evangelium Nicodemi* (64-8):—5. The Legend of Longius (69-79): 6. The Life of Mary subsequent to the Crucifixion, the Compassion of Mary, her Assumption and Coronation (90-4). And lastly, a collection of sixty-six legends respecting Mary (93-6). In the Legend of John the Baptist, Barbour refers to these works again. After mentioning the arrival of the Three Kings at Jerusalem

' to spere quhare
Wes he, that borne lital ayre
King of Jowis, "for his sterine we
Has sene in the est al thre,"'

he goes on to say

' Bot here-of will I tel no mare,
For mene ma fynd it ellis-quhare,
In a buk I mad of the birth
Of Jhesu Criste.'*

And further on in the same legend he says

' This Johne yete suld commendit be
To Criste of kyne wes he
As he mycht fynd that yaryng had
In ane wthir buk I made,
Quhare-in I recordit the genology
Of oure lady sanct Mary
Hou sibe to Jhesu this Johne wes
Of this world, as be lyne of flesche.'†

The work here described is identical with the one mentioned in lines 51-58 of the Prologue, which would seem to have contained a genealogy of Mary and an account of the advent of the

* V. 987, 996.

† V. 1215-1222.

Three Kings. The fact that it is called a 'buk,' would seem to indicate that each of the seven parts enumerated above, while forming part of a series, was a distinct book. The plan of the work was common, and is, as far as it goes, the same as that adopted in the *Cursor Mundi* and the *Collective Mysteries*. The Old Testament histories of the *Cursor* and *Mysteries*, however, were in Barbour's work wanting. On the other hand Barbour's sixty-six Marian legends are an addition. In the *Cursor* and the *Mysteries*, the beginning and the end are the Creation and the Day of Judgment; but in Barbour's work they were the Conception and the Coronation of the Virgin Mary, the sixty-six legends being merely an appendix. The probability is that Barbour used the same metre in this work as he has employed with so much effect in *The Brus* and the *Legends of the Saints*. It is to be regretted that not a single line of it has as yet been found. All that is at present known of it, is contained in the lines cited above.

The *Legends of the Saints* is known from only a single MS., preserved in the University Library at Cambridge. The MS. is a small oblong octavo consisting of 365 paper leaves. The handwriting belongs to about the year 1450 and is of the Scottish type. The characters are small, carelessly formed, and extremely difficult to decipher. The greater part of the writing is by one hand. Three spaces left vacant by this copyist have been filled in by a second hand, whose writing may also be traced in other parts of the MS. On one of the pages the handwriting of the first, or principal, copyist, is feeble and uncertain, as if while in the act of writing he had become sick, or were trembling. Besides these two copyists, two others may be traced. Here and there a hiatus occurs in the MS. and three leaves are altogether wanting. On the other hand, a leaf has been inserted by the second copyist in order to complete a passage left out by the principal scribe. In several places words are glossed on the margin to the more modern usage, and here and there a caret occurs. The text is corrupt and not unfrequently a line is missed out.

The MS. contains, besides the Prologue, fifty Legends, and in all thirty-three thousand five hundred and thirty-three verses.

Barbour's reasons for undertaking the work are given in the following lines :—

' Catone sais, that suthfaste thing is
 That idilnes giffis novrysingis
 To vicia. Thare-fore, quha sa wil he
 Vertuise, suld idilnes fle
 As sais "The Romance of the Rose,"
 But setting-to of ony glose,
 That thru the vicia of ydilnes
 Gret foly quhile and vantones
 Syndry hartis entris withine
 And gerris mene ofte sic thing begyne
 That thai ma nocht fra thyne be brocht,
 Fra thai thare-in beset thare thocht,
 Thar-for the lordis suld nocht (sa) wirke
 That steris landis and haly kirke,
 Yet, quhene thai had thare thing done
 That afferis thare stat, alsone
 Thai suld dresse thare deuocione
 In prayere and in oracione
 Or thingis that thare hart mycht stere
 Til wyne hewine, tyl thai are here.
 And the next way thare-to, I trew,
 Is for to red ore here now
 Storyase of sere haly mene,
 That to pless God vs ma kene,
 That as merroure ar vs to,
 To kene ws how we suld do.
 Thare-fore in lytil space here
 I wryt the lyf of sanctis sere
 How that mene ma ensample ta
 For to serwe God, as did thai,—
 And quha-sa wil nocht, sal haf blame
 Quhene he sal cume til his lang hame.'

Then, after saying,

' Thar-for, sene I ma nocht wirk
 As mynistere of haly kirke
 Fore gret eld and febilnes,'

he goes on to add, in the long passage already cited from the Prologue, that in order 'til eschew ydilnes' he has already composed the works referred to above, and that, having completed them, and being still desirous, though 'eld and falt

of sycht,' of occupying himself, he will proceed to 'spek' of the Twelve Apostles. The Legends of the Saints therefore were composed in extreme old age, and arose out of an intention to continue the works dealing with the Histories of Mary and Jesus. At first he evidently contemplated no more than writing the Legends of the Apostles; but having completed these, and finding himself capable of further work, and his interest in it probably growing as it proceeded, he would seem to have enlarged his original plan, and to have added Legend after Legend as his strength permitted him, until the collection assumed its present proportions. Signs that this was the mode in which Barbour worked are not wanting in the body of the work itself.

The order adopted by Barbour in the arrangement of the Legends of the Apostles is not that in which their names occur in the ecclesiastical year—the usual order in this species of writing—but that in which they are supposed to have pronounced the twelve articles of the Creed. First of all we have the two Prince-apostles, St. Peter, and then St. Paul, to which is added the Legend 'Nero's End.' The question of precedence is dealt with by Barbour somewhat naively:—

'Opunionis als syndry are,
Of Petir and Paule quha wes mare;
Bot Paule wes les in his degre,
And in sum othir mare wes he,
And als in to sume othire thinge.
He wes to Petir as ewelinge;
For Paule wes lese of dignitie
Bot in to prechinge mare wes he,
And gyfe we say suthfastnes
In lyk thai ware in halynes.'*

After St. Paul comes St. Andrew and then the rest of the Twelve in the order mentioned above, an order to which Barbour frequently refers, and in the Legend of St. James the Less stops in the following passage to defend:—

'Now of Sancte James spek will we,
That set is in the sexte degre

* Paulus, 43-52.

Of the apostolis, as we red.
 Of thare awne makine in the cred—
 Suppose syndry mene wald wene
 That he the thred mane suld haf bene,
 Be-cause that he of kyne wes nere
 To Jhesu and his modir dere :
 Bot to declare quhy that he
 Is nocht set here in that degre,
 I tak na tym to tell it here,
 For I ame ald and sumdele swere ;
 Tharfor I sped me, as I cane
 To say furth of this haly mane.'

St. Simon and St. Jude are linked together, 'sene thai brethir ware;' the Legend of Judas Iscariot is told in that of 'sancte Mathy' (Mathias),

' That in nowmyr the laste ves ;
 Ine stad of the tratour Judas.'

With the legend of St. Mathias, the poet's original plan would seem to have been completed, but any formal conclusion to the series is wanting. He passes on, though not until he has given in a Prologue his reasons, to the Legends of the two Evangelists, St. Mark and St. Luke, and then to that of St. Barnabas. In this last he defends the position he has assigned to the authors of the second and third Gospels and the Son of Consolation :—

' Swme mene wenis that Barnabas
 Ane of the apostolis was ;
 Bot thai wene wrange, gyf tha red
 Quhat thai ware that mad the cred,
 Of the quhilk the apostolis twelf
 Ilkane ane article be it-selfe
 Mad,—and in the cred are
 Twelfe articulis, les na mare.

Bot suthie it is, Mark and Lucas
 And the worthy Barnabas
 Of dyscipilis thre ware tha
 That ine momir war LXX and twa
 That Criste assignit for to be
 In helpe his wark to suple—
 As in the ewangel ye ma rede

Of Luk, wil ye tak hede—
And send thame furth twa and twa
In al place quhare he wes vont to ga.'

After Barnabas, comes Mary Magdalene,

' That for hyre mekil halynes
Co-apostil syne callit was,'

then Martha, and the Legend of 'Mary swet of Egipt.' So far we have a definite series, and with the completion of the last mentioned Legend the poet seems to have felt that for the present at least, his work was ended, for he adds to it a kind of double termination. The first is a benediction to his readers, or hearers, and an ascription of praise to the Divine Trinity—

' God yow blyse, bathe yung and aulde,
That fadir is of mychtis maste,
The sone als and the haly gaste,
That in a God are personis thre,
To quhame be joy and dignyte
And lowinge [praise] of warldly mene
In al tyme. Fiat, Amen.'

The other is the poet's prayer to Mary, which is not without beauty, and for several reasons is worth transcribing.

' Now Mary swet of Egipt
Of quhame here I haf translait
The story, thocht it be nocht cunnandly
In al—for royde mane am I—
In ynglis townge, that lawit mene
In thare langage ma it kene,
To gere tham haf hyre ine lowinge
And to knaw quhou hewynnis kinge
Is redy ay to succure all
That one his modir dere wil cal
And implese hyre with hartly wil
And lef thare syne and serwe hyre til,
Quhow late sa-euir it (be) begonnynge,
Tharefore wyne hyre and hald hir wonnyne,
For-thi, dere lady, I the pray
That wyk and sinful has bene ay :
Thocht at I lat turne me to the
Dere laydy, yet thu succure me
And sauchtine me and thi sowne,
That I ma come with hym to wyne

And bruk his blys, with this Mary
 Of quhame this tale tald haf I.
 And at it sa ma be,
 Say we Amen, parcheryte.'

The remaining thirty-two Legends are more difficult to classify. Perhaps the simplest classification is that suggested by Dr. Horstmann. First we have the four Martyrs, chosen probably because they were all helpers of men's necessities, SS. Christopher, Blasius, Clement, and Laurence; then The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, probably as a transition to the four Confessors, which follow; viz., SS. Alexius, Julian, Nicholas, and Machor. The introduction to the Alexius Legend treats of the three 'statis' of men, matrimony, continence, virginity, of the last of which Alexius is given as an example. The Julian Legend mentions three, in fact four, Julians, the first place being given to the Legend of Julianus Hospitator, and the last to the history of Julian the Apostate, for the reason that

' . . as dewot mene has delyt
 Of gud mene for to red and wryt,
 Ensampil gud of thame to ta :
 Of wykit mene thai suld alsa
 The wykitnes here tald thame til,
 To restrenye thame fra il
 Sic wykyt dedis for to do.'

With the next (No. 28) begins a new group of eight Legends, which seem to have been chosen for the purpose of illustrating the idea of victory over Satan and temptation. The legends handled are those of Margaret, Virgin and Martyr, the much tried Eustace or Placidus, Theodora, Eugenia, and Justina, St. George the slayer of the dragon, and the two tempted, fallen, but repentant and saved, Pelagia, and Thadea. A new group of Martyrs follows these, the first of whom is John the Baptist, who is also regarded as the representative of the prophets; then come SS. Vicentius and Adrian, Cosmas and Damian; and, as the last of the group, St. Ninian. The remainder form a group of ten Virgins, SS. Agnes, Agatha, Caecilia, Lucia, Cristina, Anastasia, Euphemia, Juliana, Theckla, and Catherine, in none of which is there, as in the case of the rest of the Legends, an introduction.

The general principle, however, on which Barbour has arranged his Legends is not altogether clear. It may be that there hovered before his mind the order adopted in the Litanies, and partly repeated in the Canon of the Mass and the Commune Sanctorum of the Breviaries—Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, Virgins—but it is not, as Dr. Horstmann maintains it is, altogether without doubt. It may be, too, that the original arrangement has here, as in other collections of Legends, been altered by the copyist. But the probability is that we have the Legends here in the order in which they grew up under the poet's hand; and his frequent complaints that he is old, and 'falt of sycht,' and 'sum dele swere,' together with the absence of introductions to the last group of ten Virgins, and the somewhat confused order in the two groups preceding it, seem to suggest that he went on composing the Legends with the intention of afterwards supplying the introductions wanting, and then arranging the whole in some symmetrical order, but before he could carry out his plan, was struck down by death. It is clear from what he says in the prologue to the Apostle-group that he set out with no architectonic idea in his mind embracing the whole of what he has written; and it is equally clear, we imagine, that the work never received its finishing touches.

The principal source from whence Barbour drew his materials was the *Legenda Aurea*. In St. Blasius he distinctly names it:—

' Sere men of sere intencione
To sanct Blase has devocione
Sum fore il of awne ore bane
That in the hals mony men has tane
And put has (bene) in to parele als
Fore thinge that hapnyt in the hals ;
And sume mene honouris hyme fore-thi
That thare gudis suld multiply ;
And sume mene gud opunyone
Has, that til honoure hyme are bone,
Suppos thai wat nocht certainly
Quhat mane he was, tharefore I,
Thare gud opunyone to eke,
Set me rycht besyly to seke

Quhat mane he was and of quhat land ;
 Til at the laste that I fand
 Of hyme ine (to) the "Goldine Legende"
 Bath the begynnyng and the ende,
 As I sal here vndo you to
 Bot ony ekine set thare-to,
 As in sentence mare we les.'

Besides from the *Legenda Aurea* Barbour drew largely upon the *Vitæ Patrum*, and to a less extent from *Vincentius Bellovacensis' Speculum Historiale*, as well as from other sources, some of which are either lost or unknown.* He professes 'simply to translate,' as he had previously done in the histories of Jesus and Mary, and as he here says in the beginning of the legend of Clement—'To translat is myne entent The haly story of Clement,' or to tell what he has elsewhere found, as in Nicholas—'I wil declare his story In haly writ as it fand I,' or in Julian—'And sa his story fand I al hale As til yow here tel I sall.' But while this is his profession or intention, he by no means confines himself to simply reproducing his authorities. He uses them with the greatest freedom, condensing, selecting, combining, adding, omitting, and sometimes altering the order of the legends, according as he sees fit. The etymological introductions of Jacobus a Voragine he either greatly condenses or altogether omits. From the Legends of James the Greater, Bartholomew and Mark, several of the miracles have been left out. Of the eight ascribed to Mary Magdalene in the *Legenda Aurea*, only the first is given. So again the last of those attributed by the same authority to St. Andrew is omitted, as are also the first attributed to St. Laurence, the first in the Nativity of John the Baptist, and the second in his Decollation. The translation of St. Mark is simply mentioned, and not as in the *Legenda Aurea* fully described. The introductions to the Legends are for the most part the poet's own. In these he often narrates his own experience, or observations, or sets forth the idea of the Legend, or the reasons why he places it before his readers. In the introduction to Justina he

* For an elaborate and excellent analysis of Barbour's sources, see Dr. Horstmann's Preface to the first volume of the *Legendensammlung*.

gives an account of the sign of the Cross. Here and there, too, he stays the course of his narrative, to insert reflections, suggestions, or additions of his own. In *Eugenia* he inserts a couple of stories

' To schaw that wemene ar thra
One hyme that wil nocht do thar wil.'

Towards the end of the *Paul Legend* we have a long addition respecting the great Apostle's work and character, made up for the most part of a passage occurring in 2 Cor. xi. and xii., which is curiously enough said to occur in the 'pystil, he wrat to thame of Rome.' Earlier in the same *Legend* we have another addition of *Barbour's*, in which he says of Rome

' Of kinge and presthed the gud cite
Thu art callit, worthy to be
Mychtyare throw religione
Than worldly dominacione.
This thu throw mycht of empirioure
Has hyit bene to gret honoure;
Yet cristine throw the mar avallis
Than victory of gret batalis;
For ma now cumis to the,
Throw thi patronis helpyne to be,
Than euir yet come of victory
To the, or of thi chewalry.
For-thi suld thu gret joy may
Of sic hirdis and fadderis twa,
Throw (quhom) all cristine honouris the
As hevyde of al cristianite.'

In the *Martha Legend* he stops to explain that an 'oxgang' is a space

' That twa hundreth fet in lynth has
And twenty, and in bred als
Sewyne schore of fute and na ma.'

The last two lines of the following is another addition and contain a somewhat curious explanation.

' As rede is in Luke's gospell
Quhene Cryste ine to this yerd cane dwel,
Ine til a towne he come forby
Quare in the tolbuth set Lewy

That as a tollare thare wes sate
 Vnlesume wynnynge for to get,
 And quha ine hopyne syne is tane,
 The ewangell callis "publicane."

Additions also are the prologues to the Apostle and Evangelist Legends, the introductions, several quotations from Scripture, prayers, warnings, and exhortations. Besides these there are others. All of them are more or less valuable for the insight they afford into Barbour's character, and as shewing his conception of his art, and, taken along with the selection and use he has made of his materials, are indications of his judgment and skill as a poet.

As might be expected, considering the political relations existing between England and Scotland during the fourteenth century, among all the Saints of whom Barbour treats not one is English. He gives the legend of St. George the Dragon-slayer, but nowhere refers to him as the Patron Saint of England. His reason for giving his story is

' For he wes a richt haly mane
 And fele tynt saulis to God wane,
 Nocht anerly thru his techynge
 Bot erare thru sample-geffine
 Hou mene to God suld stedfast be
 And thole for hyme perplexite,
 Of lyfe na ded dout hafand nane,
 Bot to resyst ay to Sathane
 And to lordis of mykil mycht.'

Of local, or Scottish Saints the Legends of only two are given, SS. Ninian and Machor. For St. Ninian, Barbour has had recourse to the life of the Saint by Ailred of Rievaulx, from which are also taken the nine lectiones in the Officium of the Saint in the Aberdeen Breviary. Barbour has used Ailred's Vita with the same freedom as he has used his other authorities, omitting the introduction, various reflections, and several miracles, and adding reflections of his own and incidents he has gathered elsewhere. The following is Barbour's description of the Saint :

' Tharfor, gudmen, be-hald and se
 Hou (gud) and blissit and haly wes he

That of God had sa gret grace,
That ay folouyt thus his trace !
For-thi ensampil ma be tane
Of this haly mane, sanct Niniane,
Suerdome and idilnes for to fle
And agane al wite wicht to be ;
And prese we for to folou hyme
That feile this gert leif thare syne.
And his clething scheu he was meke,
And debonar (wes) in his speke,
Devote als in oracione
And ful ithand in lessone
In jugment leile and stabile,
And in thewis honorabil,
Large in almus-dowyng
And stedfaste in his hafyng,
In al office of to preste abile,—
He wes al tyme honorabil ;
Of sic compaciencie he wes eke
That with thame gretand he wald gret
And with blyth blyth he wes,
Gyf thare blythnes wes in gudnes ;
And in vertuise he wes notabile
And in al gudnes ful lowabile.'

The Legend divides itself into three parts of unequal length. The last hundred lines of the first part, which contains the passages borrowed from Ailred's *Vita*, are an addition and of some interest in connection with the religious history of the time, as they contain a singularly graphic description of the reverence in which the relics of St. Ninian were held in Galloway in the fourteenth century. They were borne, he says,

' Of Witsone owke the twysday
Vith festiuale processione
Til a chepal be-owt the tone
Nere the quartare of a myle,
And, as it thare has bene a quhile,
Hame to the abbay thai it bere
Vith gret solempnyte and fere ;—
Bot one it lais na-mane hand
Bot the maste vorthi of the land,
That be lyne of successione
Beris it in processione.'

Between the said Tuesday and the day of John the Baptist it was the custom it appears for immense crowds to gather from all parts at Candida Casa or Whithorn :

' Mene cummis (thar) of landis sere,
Of France, of England, and of Spanye
Of the pardone for be-wanye,
And of al landis this-halfe Proyse
Mene cummis thare, of common oyse,
Of Valis and (of) Irland eke
Thar hyddir mene wil seke—
In sic nowmir, I tak one hande,
That sic day (wele) tene thousande
Thar mene wil (se) for-out mare
Oftyme that cumnis thare.'

The reason of this concourse was that innumerable miracles were there wrought through the intercession of the Saint. This first part ends with the usual concluding words :

' And grant God that we ma be
His seruandis in lyk degre,
Of this lyf (that) we ma twene
But det, schame and dedly syne.'

We have here, therefore, the original conclusion of the Legend, and a proof that the remaining parts were subsequent additions.

The second part contains three new miracles from the poet's own time. The first is about a certain Sir Fergus Magdonel, and happened in the poet's lifetime :

' Of sanct Niniane yet I yu tel
A ferly that in my tyme befel,
In Galoway, til a nobil knycht
That Sir Fergus Magdonel hicht.'

He was hardy of heart and hand, much given to the Border warfare, and a great terror to the English. A spy hired himself, 'tho he ves a Scottis-mane,' to the 'thre counteis of Carlisle' to watch Sir Fergus and give notice 'quhar he with fow folkis suld lugit be.' The notice was given and the 'thre counteis' assembled in haste to intercept him. During the night, however, St. Ninian appeared to Sir Fergus, warned him of his danger, and directed him what to do. In the morning, therefore, he

rose, mounted his horse, and with the aid of twenty companions, 'gud and il,' 'his menstrale Jak trumpoure,' and St. Ninian, he managed to so terrify his would-be captors that they fled; 'and sa wane the Scottis-mene gret riches,' and St. Ninian great fame. According to the second miracle a notorious criminal in England, while awaiting his trial remembered having heard

'That, quha-sa had undirtane
To fast or sek Sanct Niniane
That he suld help thaim til come out
Of quhat parel thai had dout,'

and made

'A wou : gyf (that) he ware mad fre
Of that dout, that he suld seke
Sanct Niniane one his bare fet
And fast his fast with gud wil,
Gyf he mycht fredome get thare-til.'

He at once began to perform his vow. The 'serefe' came and sentenced him to be hanged; and hanged he was.

'Yet duelt ane by hyme, lik to be
A bischope in al degre,
That kepit hyme sa in that sted
That he mycht feile na pane of ded,
And quhene nycht come, tuk hyme done
And sad : "ga frely to the tone
For-out dout of effray !"
Thane cane that wrech til hyme say :
"Gud mane, for God I pray the
Tel quhat thu art that helpis me !"
Quod he : "Niniane is my name
At Quhithirne quare I duel at hame,
And here is cummyne to helpe the
For thi awou thu mad to me."'

In the morning when the criminal appeared in the town, he was seized and hanged again. The Saint repeated his miracle and instructions. The resuscitated appeared in the town again; a third time he was executed; and a third time the Saint came to his help. His three miracles then becoming known, St. Ninian was held in the greatest reverence, and the malefactor was allowed to go. The third miracle Barbour here adds, is a

cure wrought upon an English nobleman by St. Ninian, though not before he had schooled him to a humble temper of mind. After the narrative of this miracle occurs the concluding formula—

' And gif me grace sa til lif here,
 Quhethire I be haile or ellis fere,
 Out of this world (that) I ma twyne
 But schame, det and dedly syne,'

proving that we have here a second ending to the Legend.

The third part contains the narrative of a miracle wrought on one of Barbour's own acquaintances. It opens with

' A lytil tale yet herd I tel
 That into my tyme befel
 Of a gudmane, in Murrese borne
 In Eglyne, and his kine beforne,
 And callit was a faithful mane
 Vith al thame that hyme knew thane,
 And this mare trastely I say,
 For I kend hyme weile mony day;
 Johne Balormy was his name,
 A man of ful gud fame.'

Balormy had a 'worme' in his limb that 'wrocht sa in his schank and kne' that he could neither walk nor stand. He grew 'ay were and were,'

' That help of gris gat he nane
 Na of charme na of stane.'

At last he went to Whithorn and slept in the chapel there, when St. Ninian appeared to him, and commanded him to return home on foot, 'and as day come, he fand his schank hale and fere.' The conclusion of this miracle is lost, the page on which it was written having been torn out. Only a few verses, however, seem to be wanting.

The source from whence Barbour drew the materials for his version of the Legend of St. Machor, the Vita S. Macharii, from which also the six lectiones in the Officium in feste S. Macharii in the Aberdeen Breviary are taken, is now lost. In its absence, therefore, Barbour's Legend is the principal source for the life of the Patron Saint of Aberdeen, and is consequently of

some importance. Here all we can attempt is a brief outline of the Legend.

St. Machor was one of the Scoto-Irish saints who gathered around St. Columba. The son of a kingling Syaconus and his wife Synchene, he was born in Ireland, and was named in baptism Mocumma, the rite, according to the Aberdeen Breviary, being administered to him by St. Colman. As with other mediæval saints, signs of his future sanctity were not wanting in his earliest years. Angels visited him; the newly born body of his dead brother was quickened into life by being placed in the bed with him; and on one occasion he was taken unhurt out of a fire into which his nurse had allowed him to fall and remain. On another occasion he was placed by his nurse for safety in a vat,

' And quhene scho hyre gat ware gane,
Of the menye in come ane,
Unwitand the barne wes thare,
And fillyt the fat but ony mare
Of watir richt vpe to the bra,
And syne of the house cane ga.'

But when the water was poured away, the 'barne' was found at the bottom living and dry, 'hale and fere, As watir neur had nychd it nere.' At his father's request his education was undertaken by St. Columba, whose zealous scholar and disciple he at once became, and was soon known far and wide, though not without being regarded with envy by his fellow-disciples. Men brought him gifts 'fare and gret.'

' Bot thare-of wald he nocht tak,
And for he wald nocht knawyne be
With the mene of his cunctre,
He determyt in his thoct
That dwel thar langare wald be nocht
Bot passyt in vnchut land but bad,
Quhare na mane knawing of him had.'

This resolution he communicated to his teacher and friend St. Columba, who approved of it and avowed that he had for some time entertained the same intention himself, and overjoyed with his disciple's zeal and devotion—but to use Barbour's words:

' His master than gret ferly had
 And in his hart gret joy he mad,
 Quhene the gret deuocione
 Of hyme herd and the perfeccione.
 Thane sad he : " Sone, til thu in yuthad
 Was stad, a barnis name thu had ;
 Bot for thu zuthad has warpyst
 And is parfyt mane in Cryst,
 Thu sal be callyt Machore
 And lewe the name thu had before. "'

With other companions they left their home and struck the island of Iona, where a certain Meluma carried them ashore. Here they built their cells and founded the celebrated monastery so closely associated with the names of St. Columba and his biographer Adamnan. As the Superior, Columba sent Machor to preach in the island of Mull. Here Machor 'precht oure-al the evangel' and healed seven lepers. Returning to Iona he gave himself to religious studies, and to transcribing the Scriptures ;

' And as he a nycht cane wryt
 A thing quhare-in he had delyt,
 Before the end of it mad,
 The lycht hyme falyet, and thane he had
 Ferme hope in God of hewine ;
 One his fyngyre end blew ewine :
 That as a candil brynnand lycht
 And, til done he had, gef hyme sycht. '

This 'ferly,' chancing to be witnessed by a 'lytil barne,' was soon noised abroad. Moved with envy, some of his brethren resolved to compass his death. Accordingly they sent him a poisoned drink, but Machor, knowing their intention, took the cup and blessed it, when the poison at once clave to the cup, and

' Syne that lycure he drank thare
 But felyng of ony sare. '

Fearing for his safety and anxious to get him out of harm's way, St. Columba now chose for him seven companions (according to other accounts, twelve, which is probably the correct number), gave him a bishop's staff, a girdle, some

clothes, and the books 'that ware necessare To hyme to preach Godis love,' prepared a ship ('galay'), provisioned it, and then sent him and his companions away to preach the Gospel, but not before he had effected a reconciliation between the persecuted Saint and his enemies. The little band in their frail bark crossed the seas which were wondrous calm, and landed in the north of Scotland, among the Picts. Here they were met by

' A Cristine mane that Farcare hycht,
That ryches had and mykil mycht ;
That prayt thame for to say
Quhene thai come and quhat ware thai.
And thai sad hyme the suth alawith.
Thane wes this Farcare ferly blyth
Quhene he sene had sancte Machor—
For he hard spek of hyme befor.'

Farcare gave Machor the choice of his lands on which to build his dwelling, and the latter having chosen a piece, in shape like a bishop's staff, there was soon, though not before a miracle had been wrought on behalf of the workmen, erected upon it

' Be craftly mene a costlyk kyrk—
And that mene callyt yet
Of Sancte Machor the seg ore set.'

Here the Saint gathered around him a large number of disciples and soon St. Devinik came to visit him. The two agreed that Machor should remain where he was, and that Devinik should go away to Caithness and there preach. Before separating the latter obtained the promise from St. Machor, that when he died St. Machor would fetch his body and bury it in the church just built.

St. Machor now gave himself to his work, converted great numbers of the Picts, and wrought many miracles. A bear which was trampling down the corn stood still at his command, and being touched with his staff turned to stone.

' And in that schape sa standis he,
A yard-stane, as mene yeit ma se.'

A conjuror or wizzard, who

' To his rycht name Dimone had,
And payene and rycht crafty
In fendis warkis and sorcery,'

he first discredited and then converted. He gave sight to one who was born blind, and quickened the dead body of one Synchenus by name. Two young Irishmen, who had been attracted to the Saint by his fame, having mocked him and his doctrine, were punished by being overtaken with sudden death, and

' Schot in-til (a) gong stinkand,
Quhar nane of freyndis thaimie fand.'

He ploughed a piece of hard and barren land, and having no seed, and being unable to procure any, sowed it with sand sent to him by St. Ternan, and the field bore fruit. A man, named by the Aberdeen Breviary Dron, refused him a piece of land whereon to build a church. As a punishment a great bone

' In-till his throt clewit sa faste,
That he to de was sare agaste,
For he mycht swely it for na slicht
Na out till put it had na mycht,
Thane was that wrecche wondir wa,
Persawand weile he was sted swa ;'

but repenting

' Sanct Machor blissit hyme one-ane :
Out of his hals thane lape the bane,
And he mad haile als smertly was
As mane that neur weste of seknes.'

One day St. Ternan visited him, and the two held a long and edifying conversation both between themselves and with a number who came to seek their advice, to whom St. Machor gave some very salutary counsel respecting the desire to pry into the judgments of God. In his last moments St. Devinik desired his disciples to carry his dead body and bury it in St. Machor's Church, and the night following his death they placed it in a chapel preparatory to removing it according to the Saint's desire. That night St. Machor, who had heard of his friend's death, lay sleepless ;

' And in that kirk with fleschy eyne
Full feile brycht angelis he has sene

Fle vpe and doune, makand thaire play,
Quhar at the cors of Dewynn timer lay.'

On the morrow he came up with those who were bearing the corpse near the 'Hill of Creskane.'

' And he and his thar with thame abad,
Till thai the service all had mad
That to sic deide mene suld parteyne,
Ar ony wink come in thar eyne.
And syne bare the cors deuotely
Till a place callit Banchory
And thare solempni with honoure
Thai grathit for it a sepulture,
And one hyme thare thai mad a kirk.
Quhar God yeit cesis nocht to wirk
Thru his prayere ferleis full fele,
To sek and sar folk gyfand heile.
Mene callis that place quar he lay
Banchory Dewynn timer till this day.'

After this St. Machor set out in company with his old teacher and friend, St. Columba, on a pilgrimage to Rome.

' Bot it ware langsume for to say
The wondir that God in the way
Wrocht for thame, or thai come to Rome,
For thai exced all manis dowme.
Bot at the last with swink and swet
Hiddir thai come, and trawall gret,
And wisit first Petir and Paule
Quhare pardone is and heile of saule,
And socht syne wthir placis sere
Quhare feile was to God full dere.'

The reigning Pontiff, Gregory the Great, sent for them 'full reuerendly and gert thaim cum til hyme in hy.' St. Machor he appointed Bishop of the Picts,* changed his name from Machor to Morise,† and instructed him in the duties of a bishop. On their return the two Saints came to Tours, where they were

* So Barbour, and Forbes, *Calendar of Sc. Saints*; but according to Colgan, Bishop of Tours.

† Change of names was frequent. Machor, the common form in the Legend, is the modern Machar. The Saint was also known as St. Mochonna, Macarius, and Mauricius.

received 'ful reuerendly' by St. Martin and his clergy, and here they separated, St. Columba continuing his way homewards and St. Machor remaining with St. Martin, whose successor he became, to the great joy and profit of the people. Here St. Machor continued his miracles, and so many were wrought by him that Barbour says—

' That I into this buk wryt nocht,
For bath it war langsume to do
And I cane tak na tyme tharto.'

The Saint was buried at Tours, and at the costly church which was built over his grave many wonderful cures are said to have been wrought

These two Scottish Legends deserve to be regarded as the best in the series. One peculiarity about them is that very frequently the self-same verses are found in both of them. In neither of them does Barbour's complaint that he is 'eld and falt of sycht,' so frequent in the other legends, occur—a circumstance which would seem to indicate that they were written at an earlier period.

The Legends suggest one or two grammatical and philological questions of importance. We will mention one. In the extracts from Barbour's *Brus* given by Wyntoun in his *Cronykil*, the preterites and past participles of weak verbs end, as in the *Cursor Mundi*, the *Lindisfarne*, and *Rushworth Gospels*, and in Hampole's works, in *d* (*ed, id, yd*). Wyntoun frequently, though by no means always, forms them in the same way. They occur with the same terminations also in the fragments of the *Trojan War*, 'written and *mendit* at the instance of ane honorable chaplane, Sir Thomas Ewyne in Edinburgh.' On the other hand in the Barbour Legends, the MS. of which is about the same date (1440-50) as that quoted from by Wyntoun, they almost always terminate in *t* (*it, yt*). In the earliest extracts (1401) from the Records of the Burgh of Aberdeen *t* is the invariable ending. And the question arises—Did the *t* termination of these forms of weak verbs originate in Aberdeenshire and travelling southward gradually supplant the *d* ending of the Northern English dialect? The question is one of considerable difficulty, and

we are by no means disposed to give a final answer to it, but so far as the evidence at present before us goes, the answer would seem to require to be in the affirmative.

In the MS. Barbour is nowhere mentioned as the author of the *Legends*, nor is he named; yet the *Legends* themselves contain sufficient evidence to warrant the generally accepted opinion that they are his work. In the Prologue the author says that he has undertaken the work on account of his old age and because he is no longer able to act as a 'minister of haly kirk.' The complaint 'For I am ald and sum dele swere,' or 'Gret eld and infyrmyte mare to say now laitis me,' occurs in several places, and he frequently refers to the fact that he is 'eld and falt of sycht.' In the introduction to the Julian Legend he speaks of his much and frequent journeying in his youth. That he was no novice in the poet's art, nor one who had taken up with the composition of verses in his old age for the first time, is proved by the ease with which the verses flow from his pen, and the skill with which he constructs them. The fact too that in his old age he composed so large a work as the *Legends*, as well as the *Histories of Jesus and Mary*, which in all probability were together as long as the *Legends*, is a proof that he had long been accustomed to this kind of work. These facts, together with the dialect in which the *Legends* are written, their similarity in style and poetic qualities to *The Brus* and *The Trojan War*, the admission among them of St. Machor or Machar, the Patron Saint of Aberdeen, and the place it occupies as the culmination of a series, seem to point with certainty to the fact, and to leave little or no room for doubt, that their author was Barbour. Assuming that he was, they form in many respects his most interesting and important work.

ART. III.—ON THE WATER CIRCULATION OF GREAT CITIES.

THE first requisite for a judicious choice of a place of abode is an ample and salubrious water supply. To the city resident, long accustomed, it may be, to associate the idea of water delivery mainly with the periodical visit of the rate-collector, this fact may not at first appear to be self-evident. In the artificial conditions which are the outcome of the present stage of civilisation, as far, at all events as urban residents are concerned, many of the early landmarks revered by a more primitive race have been lost sight of. To most of us a calendar is as requisite in order to 'find out moonshine,' as it was to Bottom in 'A Midsummer Night's Dream.' The determination of the dates of the Olympic games, of the Feasts of Passover and of Tabernacles, and of the Festivals of the early Christian Church, by the lunar year, was due to the same cause. Whether for travel or for public assembly, the importance of moonlight was primary, when gas was unknown, and artificial light was both costly and imperfect. But the explorer, the traveller, the general who has to plan a desert march, or to provide cantonments for a numerous force, pays as anxious heed to the water supply of a district, as did the victor at Tel-el-Kebir to the very minute at which the moon was to rise—unaware as he might have been of the beautiful aspect that she would then present, with Venus between her horns. And as we trace back our most important cities, towns, and castles, to their origin, we rarely find instances in which the character of the water supply is not such as to show that it played an important part in the choice of site. The utility of great rivers, as affording a supply of water, has in many cases been almost forgotten by those who have contemplated the watery channels as the highways of commerce. But the geologist adds his testimony to these already cited as to the effect of the physical condition of a water supply, in fixing the early abodes of man, even in our present age and country.

'The outcrop of a narrow band of porous rock,' says Mr. Topley, (Report of the Conference on Water Supply, Society of Acts, 1884, p. 5) 'is strongly marked by the occurrence of a long line of villages, each of which obtains its water from shallow wells or springs. The corn-brash, between the Oxford clay and the great oolite clays, is an excellent instance of this. So, too, is the marlstone rock-bed, between the upper and lower tiers. Even a thin and comparatively unimportant bed of sand, ironstone, or limestone, if it only affords a small space fit for arable culture, will be marked by a line of villages. A thin bed of ironstone in the lower lias of Lincolnshire is a good example of this. The base of the chalk escarpment, with the line of outcrop of the adjacent upper green sand, gives another good example. Here the villages always lie thickly along a definite line.'

Nor with regard to another cause, when, on finding that the world had not actually come to an end either in A.D. 999 or in A.D. 1000 (to a doubt between which two dates it was said to be chiefly due that our ancestors took the pains to till the soil in those years of anticipated terror), great nobles and robber chieftains began to build strongly-fortified castles, was the question of water supply less dominant. The villages, in most cases, often clustered around the castle walls for protection, as do chickens under the wings of the hen. But the castle well was the central necessity. In some cases, where a site of great natural strength was defective in this prime necessary, great cost was incurred in sinking for a full and perennial source of water. As, for example, in the centre of the Quadrangle of the Superga. That majestic building, which looks down on Turin and the fair valley of the Po, and may be compared to St. Paul's perched on the top of Criffel, the site of the church and monastery was decided by religious motives. The Duke of Savoy, looking down from that commanding eminence (from which, on a clear day, the distant pinnacles of the fairy-like Duomo at Milan are visible), on the French lines drawn in leaguer around his capital, vowed to build a church on the spot where he stood, if victory was granted to his arms. The invader was routed, the vow nobly redeemed. But to

supply the monastery with water, a well had to be sunk to the depth of 600 feet. A few years ago a donkey was employed in turning a drum to draw up the daily supply of the cool and delicious water thus obtained.

Once founded, however, the growth of cities was due to other causes than these which originally determined the choice of site. Those causes may for the most part be grouped under the two heads of commercial and of manufacturing facilities. Military reasons, in our island, at all events, have been cast into an oblivion of the folly of which it is not impossible that we may be sharply reminded. Once advanced to a stage of rapid and prosperous growth, cities and towns often develop a marvellous energy of increment. Each new inmate makes work for at least one more inmate besides himself. The birth rate fails to supply enough inhabitants. A steady migration from the country or from other counties sets in. Thus from 1871 to 1881, the increase of the population of London was 17.2 per cent., while that of the rest of England was only 13.8 per cent. In some cases the growth has been more rapid. Grimsby increased by 72 per cent. in the decade; Barrow-in-Furness by 250 per cent. In cases like these it is evident that the original sources of water supply may very readily be exhausted. No longer dependent on the natural provision of this prime necessary of life for the choice of his local habitation, the urban dweller has been driven to seek distant wells, springs, rivers or lakes, to quench an ever-growing thirst.

And it must be observed that the engineer has, in this respect, admirably met the demands of the thirsty citizens. Few towns of any magnitude now exist in Britain unprovided with far-fetched water. In many, water provision has been on a scale calling the aqueducts of Imperial Rome. London supplies her 5,000,000 inhabitants with 30 gallons of water each per day—a quantity rising to as much as 35 gallons in hot summer weather. Edinburgh affords an average of more than 37 gallons per day to each of a population of 304,000. Dublin gives 45 gallons daily to each of her 273,000 inhabitants. Glasgow yields 50 gallons a-piece to a population of 750,000. But these large volumes of supply, which the best authorities

on the subject regard as wasteful, are far exceeded in the great American cities. Cincinnati, Baltimore, St. Louis, and Philadelphia each deliver between 63 and 67 gallons a-head daily to their inhabitants, New York supplies 74, and Chicago the enormous volume of 109·5 gallons per head per day.

The sources of artificial water supply have been classified as lakes, rivers, surface waters (which include small streams impounded by dams), springs, artesian or other deep wells, and ground water (which includes all shallow wells, and galleries sunk in porous saturated strata). The cost of the works necessary for utilising these various sources, as well as the annual outlay, increases, as a rule, with the magnitude of the city or town to be supplied. Thus Bourne, in Leicestershire, with a population of about 4000 in 1881, was supplied, by Mr. James Pilbrow, in 1856, from an artesian well bored through the oolite rocks to a depth of 92 feet, at a cost of £2·43 per million gallons of annual supply; being a less cost per inhabitant than that of the provision of common water butts. At Plymouth, the water of the River Mew is led, through a leet or channel constructed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, into reservoirs at a level that is high enough to supply the town by gravitation; that is to say by the simple weight of the water itself, descending through closed pipes. The capital cost of the work is now unknown, but the annual cost is only £1·45 per million gallons of supply. On the other hand the annual working expenses of the water supply at Wolverhampton amount to £14·50, and those at Liverpool to £14·74, per million of annual gallons.

In the principal cities and towns of the United Kingdom the capital expended to provide the supply of water ranges from £119 in Dublin, and £211 in Belfast, per million gallons of annual supply, to £525 in Leeds, £582 in Bradford; and the enormous figure (swollen by the cost of ruptured reservoirs) of £938 in Sheffield. In the ten cities of the United States which contain upwards of 200,000 inhabitants each, the capital thus laid out ranges from £93·3 in Chicago, to £416 in San Francisco, per million gallons of annual supply. But in comparing the American with the British cities, thus measured, the

enormous quantity of water supplied to the former towns must be borne in mind. Calculated per inhabitant, the American outlay is much higher than our own. It ranges from £3.73 per head in Chicago, to £9.48 per head in Cincinnati, and is said to be as much as £12.5 per head in New Orleans, where, however, the figures have been questioned. In the United Kingdom, in towns of the same magnitude, the cost ranges from £1.65 per head in Belfast, to £5.09 in Birmingham, £5.13 in Bradford, and £6.11 in Sheffield.

The most remarkable outcome of a comparison of the cost of water supply in the great cities of the United Kingdom and of the United States, is the exceptional cheapness of the service of London. This cheapness is no doubt due to the fact that the eight great Water Companies which now divide between them the main supply of the metropolis, have been founded by private enterprise, guided by competent professional intelligence, and protected by the solid character of British honesty from the efforts of those marauders and meddlers who have, for the last ten years, been engaged in a series of predatory crusades against one of the few British industries which are still fairly remunerative to those who advanced the capital on the guarantee of the public faith. The signal for these unprincipled attacks was given by a very mischievous and ignorant remark made by the Registrar General in 1876, which affords a flagrant instance of the serious inconvenience that attaches to the official expression, by public servants, of their own private and perhaps very crude ideas. This officer, remarking that the capital of the Metropolitan Gas and Water Companies amounted to upwards of £20,000,000, on which he assumed that a dividend of 8 per cent. was paid, came to the scantily-honest conclusion, that as the Metropolitan Board of Works might be able 'o borrow an equal sum at 4 per cent., 'the ratepayers might be supplied by them with gas and water at half the present cost.'

How far the author of this brilliant discovery realised the fact that his project, if it could be carried out as he suggested it, must involve a direct robbery of the proprietors of the then existing gas and water works to the extent of at least

£20,000,000, may be left in doubt. But that there were many who saw what this really involved, and were not slow to take the hint, the list of Parliamentary Bills from 1876 to the present year contains ample proof. An award, in the case of the compulsory purchase of the Stockton and Middlesborough Water Works by the corporations of these towns, given in 1879, somewhat damped the eagerness for what may be called organised private robbery under Parliamentary sanction. The purchasers had to pay, not only 25 years' purchase of the statutory dividends of the Company, but further sums by way of compensation for compulsory purchase, or assumption of debt, which raised the former figures by nearly 70 per cent. After this, the main attacks on the London Water Companies have been made by her Metropolitan Board of Works. This body, unrivalled in their eminence of being the most notorious river polluters on the face of the globe, have endeavoured, by every kind of project, including one for burdening London with the enormous and useless cost of a double service, to get into their own hands the—or at all events a—water supply of the Metropolis. It was only on the fifth of March ultimo that their last insidious attempt to obtain power (to use the language of Sir Henry Holland in the House of Commons) to put the ratepayers to enormous expense without their sanction, was rejected by the House of Commons.

An interesting example of the relations historically developed between the inhabitants of a thriving town and the local water supply is afforded by Manchester. The few scanty notices of the early condition of this great capital of the cotton industry, which have been collected by Mr. Bateman (*History and Description of the Manchester Water Works*), do not go beyond the beginning of the sixteenth century, and are principally found in the records of the Manchester Court Leet. From these it appears that there was a spring or fountain rising in what is now about the centre of the city—a spot still known by the name of Fountain Street. From the year 1506, for a period of 270 years, this appears to have been the sole, or at all events the main, source of public supply. The water was, after a time, led by a conduit from this spring to the mar-

ket place, now principally occupied by Victoria Street. So modest were the water requirements of the Yorkshire folk of the sixteenth century, or so hard was the task of meeting them, that in October, 1578, the Leet gave orders 'that no person shall take water from the conduit in any vessel of greater value than one woman is able to bear full of water, but one of every house at one time, and to have their cale (turn) as hath been accustomed.' The stint of about one gallon per inhabitant per day, taken between the hours of 6 and 9 a.m., was thus the allowance thought adequate at the time; unless the water bearer paid a second visit to the conduit, between the hours of 3 and 6 p.m.; the source of supply being kept locked up for the rest of the 24 hours. 'The washing or cleansing of any calves heads or meats, linen or woollen cloths, or any other noisome things, at the conduit,' was forbidden in 1626, under a penalty of 12d. With the growth of the town, and the sinking of private wells, the water supply of the original fountain fell off, and the conduit ceased to flow about 1795.

In 1771 experiments were made by Dr. Percival on the hardness of the water collected from thirty public pumps in Manchester. In the early part of the present century a pumping engine was erected by Sir Oswald Morely, the Lord of the Manor, for raising water from the River Medlock for storage in the Infirmary Pond, and the Shuldehill pits, whence it was conveyed by means of pipes. In 1809 a committee reported on two schemes for supplying Manchester with water, one, that of what is called the Stone Pipe Company, proposed by Mr. Rennie, the other by Mr. Dodd. A few years later there is a local record to the effect that the length of iron mains laid down in Manchester and Salford was 70 miles, and the daily consumption of water about 1,400,000 gallons. These mains had been substituted for those originally laid down by the Stone Pipe Company; which were bored out of solid stone, but which burst so readily, under a moderate pressure of water, that these had to be abandoned. In 1821 the formation of the Manchester and Salford Waterworks Company was authorised by Parliament, and reservoirs were constructed at

Beswick and at Gorton. The population supplied in 1826, after the latter reservoir was opened, was about 200,000 persons. In 1842 Mr. Simpson was called in to advise. He estimated that the daily demand in 1861 would be a maximum of 3,400,000 gallons per day. (By the year 1850, however, it actually amounted to 11,000,000 gallons per day.) In 1847 a well was sunk into the new red sandstone in order to yield a further supply. It was 12 feet in diameter; carried to a depth of 212 feet; and galleries were driven in different directions from the bottom. It yielded, during the sinking, as much as 1,500,000 gallons per day; but the quantity fell to 1,200,000 gallons in 1851, and to 750,000 gallons in 1852. The steady increase of population drove the engineers still further and further afield for the supply of water. In 1844 the drainage area for the Manchester and Salford Waterworks contained 5000 acres. The area contributing to the Longdendale works, which turned a portion of the course of the River Etherow into a series of reservoirs, was 18,900 acres. The cost of these works, the construction of which has extended from 1847 to 1884, has been £3,097,000, including the purchase of former undertakings. They are computed to be adequate to furnish a supply of 25,000,000 gallons per day. In 1884, between 18 and 19 millions per day were actually supplied. The demands of Manchester for water are increasing at the rate of a million gallons of daily supply per annum, so that by 1891 the Etherow Valley would be taxed to its utmost reliable capacity. To anticipate this difficulty, a scheme was prepared by Mr. Bateman, and accepted by the House of Commons in 1879, designed to meet the further requirements of the city. The source of supply is Thirlmere Lake in Cumberland, the surface of which, at a level of 533 feet above the Ordnance Datum, covers 528 acres. This level it is proposed to raise, by the necessary embankments, by 31 feet, the effect of which will be to enlarge the surface area to 793 acres, giving a capacity of 8,130 million gallons of water, or nearly a year's supply at the present rate of consumption. This store, fed from the unusually heavy rainfall of the district over an area of nearly 11,000 acres, is to be led to Manchester by an aqueduct of 104 miles in length,

falling 231 feet from the level of the Thirlmere Lake in the 96 miles thence to the reservoir at Prestwick. The aqueduct is composed of 14 miles of tunnelling, 39 miles of covered channel, and the remaining length of cast iron pipes and bridges, or aqueducts proper. The estimated cost of completing these works so as to yield 50 millions of gallons per day (which it was assumed that it was as much as Thirlmere would yield), is £3,424,530.

Thus Manchester, for a population which Mr. Silverthorn, in his painstaking and valuable book on *London and Provincial Water Supplies*, estimates at 900,000 in 1881, has already so far exhausted all available sources of supply within reasonable distance, as to be driven to undertake a work so colossal as that just described. Liverpool, which has already spent £2,850,000 in providing a delivery of 16,000,000 gallons a day for 717,000 persons, is proceeding to impound the upper waters of the River Vyrnw, an affluent of the Severn, so as to form a lake of an area of 1115 acres, at an elevation of 825 feet above the sea-level. The length of the embankment for this purpose will be about 1250 feet, its height above the bed of the river to the new top water level 84 feet; and the supply will be led through an aqueduct of $67\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length to the present Prescot reservoirs of the Corporation. The supply contemplated is about the same as that of the Thirlmere scheme, viz., 40 gallons per head of population daily, and about 10,000,000 gallons per diem as compensation to the Severn interests. The area of the watershed which is drained by the Vyrnw is 17,583 acres.

While the great industrial and commercial capitals of Lancashire are thus replacing the daily portorage of water in a vessel such as could be carried by a woman, by aqueducts of 100 and of 67 miles in length, tapping the head springs of the Severn, and drawing off the waters which bathe the foot of Helvellyn; while the inhabitants of the valley of the Thames are requiring for their daily consumption, in a season of drought such as that which prevailed last summer, more than forty per cent. of the whole visible outflow of that river and its tributaries; while Manchester demands a million of daily gallons to

be added to her supply each year; Liverpool at least 700,000 gallons; London, 3,000,000 daily gallons; while the population of the whole country is steadily increasing, and, at the same time, the ancient sources of water supply are being everywhere poisoned and closed, it is time to ask, Whither are we going? The need for water may be so dire as to justify such herculean projects on the score of economy alone. But the terrible risk to which, in the time of war or tumults, a great city is exposed by depending for its supply of water on a line of communication exposed to the chances of immediate destruction over a length of 50 or of 100 miles, is one that it is worse than idle to ignore. Rome, with a population computed by Professor Leslie as equal to that of Manchester, was supplied, in the time of Claudius, by no less than nine different aqueducts. It may very well be the case that the figures, taken from Frontinus, which allow more than 300 gallons per diem to each of a million of Romans, may be exaggerated. But the point to consider is the care with which our masters in the science of engineering prevented the danger of a water famine in their capital at the will of foreign invader or domestic revolutionist. To the more ancient aqueducts, which had an aggregate length of 250 miles, a tenth, the Aqua Felice, was added, in 1581, by Pope Sixtus V.

Should Britain continue to be, as she was half-a-century ago, the workshop and the depot of the world, the steady pressure of the population on the sources of water supply will form a problem of unexampled urgency. It was shown in a paper read to the Congress on National Water Supply, in 1878, by Mr. Conder, M. Inst. C. E., that one per cent. of the annual rainfall of England and Wales is enough to provide 50 tons of water per annum to each of a population of $25\frac{1}{2}$ millions of persons. In the case of the Thames valley, this proportion rises to 2.6 per cent. of the rainfall. And of the rainfall, that part which visibly flows to the sea in rivers, and can be measured by the hydraulic engineer, bears but a small, and as yet an unascertained, proportion to the total amount. 'The available water supply of England may be taken as equal to the minimum annual rainfall, less the quantity of water that escapes

by evaporation and percolation. This difference forms the annual outflow of the rivers of the island. No complete measurements of evaporation, percolation, or river outflow exist, and the available water supply of England is therefore an unknown quantity.' The flow of the Thames, in summer drought, has been estimated by Mr. J. T. Harrison at one-sixth of the rainfall.

Of the water so copiously supplied from heaven the greater part, in case of heavy showers, is literally run to waste. Half a century ago every house was furnished with butts or tanks for rain water, which for all purposes except that of drinking furnished a ready supply of the utmost value. With the increase of population, and with the increase of smoke and contaminating gases in the air, the rain water butt has become a thing of the past. Chemistry has not solved the problem of performing, in the laboratory or in the reservoir, the functions which nature performs in the soil. So important a result has not even, so far as is matter of public notoriety, been attempted. A great discovery in this field would have the most vital consequences as regards the water supply of cities. That to something of this kind we must come, and that within a measurable time, is indisputable, if our cost of annual increase is to continue.

A house covering the small area of six perches of land receives annually on its roof more than 150 metric tons of water, being enough for the annual domestic consumption of three individuals. On the 122 miles area of London, after deducting more than one fifth of the surface for roads, streets, and squares, 150 millions of metric tons of water fall within the year; a quantity equal to the requirements of three millions of inhabitants. To neglect any attempt at utilising a bountiful supply thus brought to our very doors, and to spend, as proposed by Mr. Hassard, £21,000,000 in bringing the water of the Cumberland lakes to slake the thirst of London, may well be thought one of the most striking misapplications of human ingenuity known in the history of invention.

Costly as the supply of water is already in many of our most populous towns, and yearly as that cost is likely to rise—as do

rents and rates—in proportion to the increase of population, the contrast which is presented by our own arrangements for the supply of the poorer of our urban residents to those prevailing in republican Paris is almost incredible. In the metropolis it so happens, rather from physical causes than from any other reason, that the vast district of East London, containing upwards of 140,000 houses, of which the rental is on the average 40 per cent lower than the average for the entire metropolis, is supplied with the large quantity of 43½ gallons of water per head per day, for the incredibly small charge of three shillings per head per annum. Of this quantity 27½ gallons are supplied for domestic purposes alone, at the cost of 2·62s. per individual per year. In Paris, where in 1882 the average cost of water was about two and a half times that in London, many of the poorer inhabitants were supplied by water-carriers from the stand pipes of the water-works, at a cost of from 5 to 6 gallons for a penny. As far as these poor citizens were concerned, they were then much in the same condition as were the inhabitants of Manchester 300 years ago. Did they consume as much water as the inhabitants of East London, these poor Parisians would have to pay more than twenty times as much as the latter for their supply—pounds in place of shillings.

The natural water supply of the United States is so magnificent that it may be thought, at the first glance, that the problems which are becoming so very grave in the United Kingdom would have but little counterpart in America. So far, however, is this from being the case, that while the range between the highest and the lowest American rates is as much as from six to one, the excess of the revenue received by the water suppliers over the working cost of delivery rises as high as the proportion of nine to one.

The cheapest water supply in the world, for any city of upwards of 100,000 inhabitants, is Chicago. Lake Michigan, on the shore of which that marvellous instance of the developing power of the New World is situated, has an area of 23,000 square miles. It is 320 miles long, 628 feet above the level of the sea, and is said to be 100 feet deep. But even this vast fresh water sea afforded no immunity to those who neglected

the laws of purity. In the rapid growth of the city, which increased from a population of 4,583 persons in 1840, to 503,185 in 1880, the waters of the lake, from which the inhabitants derived their domestic supplies, became fouled by the drainage of the town. It appeared that the fouling was local, modified or diminished only by current, and not tending apparently to dilution through the vast volume of the lake. Accordingly a tunnel was driven through the compact blue clay which forms the basin of the lake, out to a distance of two miles from the city, to a spot where the water was thirty feet deep. Here an artificial island was constructed of timber and stone, through the middle of which was sunk a cast iron pipe of nine feet diameter, to a depth of thirty-one feet below the bottom of the lake. This pipe was connected with the tunnel, which was lined with brickwork in cement; and the water thus carried into the city was raised by steam pumping engines. A stand pipe, 140 feet above the level of the lake, regulates the pressure of the water; 75,000,000 gallons of which are delivered through thirty-eight miles of mains. In 1873 a second intake shaft and tunnel were commenced, and a land tunnel, seven feet in diameter, was carried inland for four miles from the lake, in order to supply a second set of pumping works to accommodate the extension of the city.

The cost of the above arrangements had amounted to £1,868,000 by the year 1880. In the nine years ending in 1872, the cost of delivering a million gallons of water varied from 52s. to 32s. In 1881 it had fallen to 22s. But the revenue derived from the works amounted, in that year, to £10 5s. per million gallons; and the cost actually borne by the inhabitants, provided with what is by far the cheapest water supply in the world for a place of any magnitude, was 26 per cent. higher than that incurred in the same year by the inhabitants of London.

In the United States, at the date of the last census, there existed only ten cities of each of which the population exceeded 200,000 persons. In the United Kingdom, by a curious coincidence, at the same date, existed also only ten cities (excluding the Metropolis) with population above that limit. On the

Continent of Europe, twenty-four capitals and great seaport towns exceed that number of inhabitants; but the data as to their water supply are not so accessible as in the case of Great Britain and of North America. Of these cities of the United States, three (viz., New York, Brooklyn, and San Francisco), have laid out in the aggregate about the same sum that has been expended on the London water works. But for that outlay they provide with water a number of inhabitants little more than the half of those of London. In these cities the main supply is delivered by gravitation, the intakes from the rivers being fixed at a sufficient distance up the stream to allow the requisite difference of level. Boston also is supplied by gravitation, drawing its supplies from the Sudbury River, and the lakes Cochituate and Mystic. Philadelphia pumps her supply into reservoirs, from the Schurykill and Delaware rivers. Baltimore depends partly on gravitation, and partly on pumping; taking its supplies from Jones's Falls and Gunpowder river. St. Louis and New Orleans pump to reservoirs from the Mississippi, and Cincinnati pumps from the Ohio. We have here, therefore, admirable examples of the most ingenious and well-considered methods of rendering an ample and unfailing supply of pure water available for the needs of the inhabitants. The question is, whether it is cheaper and better to pump the water from a river to a reservoir, or to derive the supplies from the same stream at a distant spot, where the level is such as to allow of the free descent of the current, and of its unforced delivery to the towns. Of all these cases, as we have seen, by far the cheapest, and probably in all respects the best, is the supply of Chicago, pumped direct from the level of the lake. The excellence and cheapness of the supply, however, has led to an extravagance in its use, for which but one excuse is apparent. The dilution of the sewage of the towns by so copious a water supply, is such as to reduce—or rather to defer—the fouling of the lakes and rivers by the effluent. Thus the ill effect produced on the lake at Chicago by the drainage of the city, is only one fourth as much—measured by volume of water, as in the case of London—and that effluent, four times as pure as that at Barking at the very

least, is poured into a fresh water sea covering 23,000 square miles. In the case of Cincinnati, the Ohio river has a width of 4000 feet, and a flow of 900,000 gallons per second, where it falls into the Mississippi. In this latter case, the oxidising power of the mighty current is much greater than that of the still water of the lake. Thus, though absolute safety is not obtained in these cases, serious nuisance is materially abated. Danger is diminished or delayed; and the well-watered citizen of Chicago or of New York may well view with unmitigated wonder, as well as with ill-concealed disgust, the spectacle of the guardians of the English capital converting the once silvern Thames into a vile and pestilential common sewer.

The city of New York has expended upwards of seven millions sterling on its water works, at a time when they supplied the wants of little over 1,200,000 persons. Thus the cost (in 1880) amounted to nearly £6 per head, or more than double the corresponding cost for London. The water works of Cincinnati had cost £9.5 per head of the inhabitants, those of Boston £10.6 per head, in the same year. We have nothing approaching to these figures in Great Britain. Thus, while the annual expenditure, or working cost, in the United States is kept low—such being the direct object of incurring large cost for ensuing a delivery by gravitation—the interest on capital more than makes up for the saving thus effected. Again, these cities make their water works not only self-supporting, but sources of revenue. Thus the revenue bears but an arbitrary relation to the working cost, and the American citizen pays, in round numbers, for a double supply in quantity, about twice the annual charge per head incurred by his English brethren. In New York, with its magnificent gravitation works, the annual working cost is nearly 20 per cent. higher than that expended by Chicago.

A word or two may be permitted as to the noble water works of New York. A dam has been constructed across the valley drained by the Croton River, about six miles from its mouth, which raises the water by 40 feet above its original level, or to 166 feet above the mean tide level at New York. From this dam a conduit of stone and brick masonry, set in

concrete, runs for a distance of 33 miles, including a tunnel through rock. The Harlem River is then crossed by an aqueduct of fifteen arches, of 80 and of 50 feet span, which carries a pipe of wrought iron, of $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter, at a level of 100 feet above mean tide. Two miles more of conduit lead the water to the edge of the Manhattan Valley, which is crossed by syphon pipes, and two miles more of conduit and aqueduct bring it to the reservoirs in New York. Five reservoirs, under different titles, have an aggregate capacity of 4,570 millions of gallons; and when this amount was drawn up another reservoir was in course of construction, in the Croton Valley, with a capacity of 3,700 millions gallons more. The object of this vast storage is, in case of long continued drought, to provide for 82 days consumption, at an allowance of 100 gallons daily per head, irrespective of the minimum flow of the Croton River, of 27 millions of gallons. A high service reservoir has been constructed for the supply of the higher section of the city, south of the Manhattan Valley, into which the water is pumped by steam. The very highest district is supplied from a tank supported on a tower, 300 feet above the sea, and fed from the last named reservoir.

It is thus evident that no hard and fast lines can be laid down as to the principles on which, in any particular spot, an attempt should be made to supply water for a large population. Nature must, in each case, be studied and waited on. A certain amount of work has, in almost every case, to be done. This is roughly equal to a raising of the whole water required for daily consumption from the level of the drainage of the lowest part of the city, to that of the roofs of the average of her houses. Whether this be done by pumping direct, by pumping to reservoirs, or by the construction of works to lead the supply from the nearest point indicated by the level, does not, as a general rule, appear to make any very great difference in the cost. In each case it must depend on the physical conditions. But it is certain that, in providing for a large daily artificial supply, the engineer must pay the most anxious heed to the future. Demand for water will increase at a rate measured by the well-being of the place, its manufacturing or com-

mercial activity, and its increase of population. Cost will also increase, do what we will, in something the same ratio. The loss of the natural sources of supply is a necessary consequence of the growth of population, so long as no thoroughly adequate method be adopted for the absolute destruction of the poisons generated by the refuse of city life. The time has come, in many cases, where the natural water-shed on which the city could depend is exhausted. Then comes the period of vast, costly, dangerous schemes—schemes involving, in the case of the rupture of a single pipe, the terrible danger of a water famine. And even then—with a demand increasing at the rate of 300 million gallons a year—whence is Manchester to draw her supplies, when the yield of Thirlmere is exhausted? On one hand we have constantly increasing demand; on the other strictly limited supply. The only hope for the future, then, is that the engineer, instead of being content to depend on the waste of nature—the water that she lets run away to the sea—shall learn to imitate her processes, and thus to draw lessons from her providence.

When the water necessary for daily consumption, whatever be its quantity, has been brought into the dwellings of the city resident, less than half of the real task of the hydraulic engineer has been accomplished. That supply has then to be carefully removed; and not only so, but with that removal is generally associated that of the rainfall and storm-water over the urban area, together with the large mass of refuse that daily collects in the course of civilised life. Nor is it matter of mechanical action alone. The chief difficulty and danger attendant on this part of the water circulation lie in the directly poisonous nature of some of the ingredients removed by the drains. Apart from all questions of manufacturing pollution (each case of which possesses peculiarities that form a distinct chemical problem), and without carrying to the account the sweepings of the streets, the contributions from stables, or any other abodes of animal life, or the outflow from laundries, from house and yard cleaning, and from culinary processes, the refuse which has to be removed amounts to an annual weight, per unit of the population, sufficient to pollute (according to the

standard of purity fixed by the Fifth Report of the River Pollution Commissioners) between 800,000 and 1,000,000 gallons of the water of any river or channel into which it is allowed to flow.

Nor is this pollution, of the utter inefficiency of the present attempts to prevent which we must cite one or two striking proofs, the whole, or perhaps the most fatal part, of the danger arising from this disposal of the resources of civilisation. It is true that the danger that arises from the contamination of river water is twofold. There is the constant risk, varying in its intensity with the temperature, of the putrefaction of the effete organic matter conveyed into the rivers, and of the generation of such diseases as spring from the malaria thus caused. And in cases where certain epidemic and other diseases, well known to medical men, exist, the seeds or germs of these diseases find their way, under existing arrangements, into our rivers; and thus render possible, in the event of a hot summer, or of the occurrence of those atmospheric or other physical conditions of which we know so little, the outburst, in any year, of a fatal and devouring pestilence. Against the first of these dangers, chemistry has, as yet, done but little; against the second, nothing whatever. Nor has anything but the feeblest palliation been attempted with regard to that third source of danger above referred to, the generation and escape of sewer gas. To this cause are directly traceable, in many if not in all instances, diphtheria and typhoid fever. By these scourges, some of the noblest and the most valued of our citizens have been stricken down. They seem to make their most easy prey of those of the highest nervous and mental organisation, the hardest workers, the most devoted alleviators of the sufferings of their fellows. It has preyed, with a fearful partiality, on the Royal House. And, indeed, it is thought by some who are well competent to form an opinion, that the very means adopted to disperse this aerial poison have been only too efficient in conveying it to the sleeping chambers. The unsightly ventilation pipes which are now regarded as sanitary appliances, most unquestionably poison the air; and, in but too many cases, do so in the very localities whence it is most readily conveyed to the lungs of the sleeping victims.

The truth is, that while in the task of bringing water to his home man has waited upon nature, and carried further into detail her own procedures, in his attempts to remove that water when used, he has flown in the face of nature, disregarded her examples, and violated her laws. The peril thus incurred is not small. Nature has provided, by the instincts implanted alike in man and in beast, for the dispersion of the refuse of organic life, and for its rapid oxidation by mixture with the soil. Thus treated, it has a certain value in providing the food for vegetation; a value that has been estimated by the well known authority of De Voelcker at about nine shillings of theoretic, or three shillings of market value, per individual per year. To extract that possible three shillings-worth of potash, ammonia, and phosphate of lime, the main efforts of inventors have for the last quarter of a century been unhappily directed. In no instance has financial success attended the efforts; while the cost of dealing with the matter which they seek to preserve, although health demands its destruction, is continually on the increase.

Again, in dealing with the refuse of our large towns, instead of doing so as far as possible in detail, the most unmanageable concentration of intolerable nuisance has been the general rule. While nature has provided, by the rapid leaps of the torrent that follows a storm-burst, for the oxidation, as far as possible, of the organic matter swept from the fields by the rain, man has conveyed his polluted waters in dark underground channels, shut off alike from the oxidising influence of the soil and from that of the air. He has poured the concentrated drainage of many square miles of urban area into a river at a single point, as if with the express object of creating unmanageable nuisance. Or he has done even worse by so emitting it into the sea as to prevent, by the well known properties of sea salt, even the slight oxidation caused by the river flow.

So serious has the danger become, that London, sheltering itself under the negligence with which one or two acts of parliament have been either framed or expounded, is almost the only place of any importance in Great Britain that obstin-

ately refuses to make any provision for maintaining the purity of her great water-way. Other places have attempted the partial redress of the mischief they are inflicting on our rivers by various modes, resembling each other in little but their inefficiency. Filtration through the soil, in many places tried, has in all failed to purify the effluent water; and, if long continued, invariably creates a dangerous nuisance. Irrigation, which is but a species of filtration, has the disadvantage of being almost entirely ineffective, as well as useless, in wet weather; while the existence of soil fitted for this mode of culture, or the power of purchase where it does exist, are exceptionally rare. Moreover the crops to which irrigation is suited are but few. Chemistry has sought to solve the problem, not by destroying, but by precipitating and then storing up, putrescible matter, in the hope of extracting a value from it as manure. The processes attempted for this purpose have been very numerous, no fewer than 76 patents for the production of 'manures' having been applied for in a single year. But the general result may be shown in very few figures—figures furnished on the respectable authority of the Reports of the Rivers' Pollution Commissioners.

In twenty-five cases, comprising all the most vaunted modes of treatment, the trials have failed to remove more than 30 per cent. of the impurities contained in the contaminated water with which they proposed to deal. The effluent, on the average of these cases, contains enough impurity to pollute half a million of gallons of water in the year for every inhabitant of the district drained. In some cases, as at Hertford and at Rugby, where the sewage is very weak, the treatment has had the remarkable effect of providing an effluent more foul than was the original flow. In other cases, as at Tottenham, where the sewage is foul, the treatment applied is so inadequate that the failure is evident to the senses. It is intolerable, in the summer, to stand to the leeward of the little water-fall of treated effluent of which Tottenham pours 2,000,000 gallons daily into the river Lea.

It is true that in such cases an average gives but an unsatisfactory result. Many persons may console themselves

with the idea that the standards of purity fixed by the River Pollution Commissioners are unduly high, and that, after all, their chances of escape are very good. But it must be remembered that it is not in the many who escape, but in the few who do not, that the danger to all lurks. Averages such as those given above denote a frightful degree of danger in the worst cases, as at Barking, Crossness, and Tottenham. It is in such spots that pestilence, if it come, is at once naturalised; and its spread from such highly prepared centres is something but too well illustrated by the history of the great epidemics of the past.

The wealthy and fertile district which is drained by the River Thames contains within the limit of its watershed not far short of one fourth of the population of Britain; or at least 7,000,000 persons. That population is enough to render foul, on the previously explained theory of river pollution, thirty-five millions, or thousands of millions, of gallons of water in a year. But in a hot, dry year, when all the elements of impurity assume a tenfold energy, and when that population would require, if we take London as an example, upwards of 230 millions of gallons of water for use in a day, the whole river overflow of the district may be as low, taking the measured efflux of the Thames as a guide, as 520 millions of gallons. Thus the water theoretically, or on an average, liable to fouling, is at least fifty times as much as that delivered for consumption. But the total river outflow of the district—taking the worst time and worst case of drought—is not three times the quantity required for consumption. It is not, therefore, the question of a few grains of impurity more or less per gallon. It is the question of the near approach of a state of things when human life will be very precarious in the heart of England, unless something very different from any expedients now in use be produced from the resources of science.

It is a remarkable fact that in almost every attempt that has been practically made to purify foul water by chemical precipitation, a chemical law has been overlooked, with the operation of which it is idle to contend. Various inorganic elements behave in a particular way when brought into contact

with organic matter. Lime and clay, for example, when dissolved in water containing organic matter, refuse to settle as solid precipitates; but, while they rapidly clear the upper portion of the fluid to which they are applied, they subside, together with whatever foreign matter they may drag down from that fluid, into a thick semi-fluid, containing from 80 to 90 per cent. of water. It is in the treatment of this semi-fluid, known as sludge, that the main part of the difficulty, nuisance, cost, and danger of the disposal of our town refuse invariably occurs.

This is not the place in which either to introduce or to advocate any special scheme for the removal of the mischiefs of which the nature has been indicated. But it is, in our view, of the utmost importance to call public attention to the direction in which any reform has to be sought. What the urban residents require of the chemist and of the engineer may be briefly and positively stated. They require to be freed from the danger and nuisance of sewer gas, not by decanting it into the atmosphere, under the eaves of their houses, or so as to accompany any down draught from their drainage, but by preventing its formation, or by destroying it in a nascent state. They require that the deposit formed shall be free from putrescible matter, and from the germs of disease; free from the association of water in the form of sludge; and yielding those elements which are of value to the farmer in a manageable, and therefore a valuable, form. And they further require that these ends shall be attained without any poisoning of either the effluent water, or the precipitate by the chemical agents employed, as in the case, for example, of the use of the chloride of mercury. It is hardly necessary to add that reasonable cost is an essential element in the problem.

It is the fact that a process which proposes to fulfil all these conditions is now attracting attention, in France and in the United States, as well as in Great Britain. But the statement that it is now undergoing careful investigation by the experts of two of the most important Government Departments is reason enough for withholding any premature expression of opinion. If the result be unfavourable, it may yet be of use as showing how

and where the advance in an untried direction has been arrested. If it prove the reverse, the discovery will be one impossible to hide under a bushel. It will be available wherever man clusters closely together in his abodes, it will solve the most urgent problem affecting the public health, and it will be a gift to unborn generations of which it will be hard to exaggerate the beneficence.

ART. IV.—THE CALDWELL PAPERS.

Selections from the Family Papers preserved at Caldwell. Three volumes. Privately printed. Paisley: 1883-85.

THE re-issue of this valuable series of Family Papers deserves more than a passing mention. Since their original publication by the Maitland Club, now upwards of thirty years ago, copies of them have become exceedingly scarce, and it is only at rare intervals that one can be met with at anything like a reasonable price. In appearance the volumes of the present issue are an exact reproduction of the original edition, and have been printed, it would appear, for private circulation. It may be questioned, however, whether so valuable and instructive a work does not deserve to be issued in a more popular and less expensive form. During the past quarter of a century the taste for such works has certainly spread over a wide area, and it is not at all beyond the bounds of probability that an experiment of the nature suggested would prove successful. But be that as it may, the multiplication of copies of these Papers in any shape, and not least in the exceedingly handsome form in which they are here presented to us, though it may prove a matter of some little jealousy to the professional book-collector, is to be hailed with satisfaction.

The Papers range over a period of three centuries and a half, the first bearing the date January 22, 1496, and the last, that of April 11, 1853. Those belonging to the fifteenth and

sixteenth centuries are comparatively few ; only one falling in the first of these centuries, and some twenty in the following. When we reach the seventeenth century the Papers become more numerous ; and more numerous still are those which belonged to the eighteenth and first half of the present century.

The best part of the contents of an old and distinguished family's charter chest, these Papers, as might be expected, are of an exceedingly diversified character. Without the volumes before him, it is difficult for the reader to obtain, or to have conveyed to him, anything like an adequate conception of the variety of topics with which they deal. They touch upon almost every conceivable subject, and always in an instructive way. Among other things they contain instruments of sasine, decretes arbitral, indictments, opinions of counsel, bonds of manrent, bonds of maintenance, bonds of friendship and alliance, contracts of marriage, royal letters, a papal dispensation, tacks, licenses, medical prescriptions, and lists of personal and household expenses. Later on we have 'reflections' both political and religious, notes of travel, catalogues of libraries, fragments of sermons, and letters dealing with the social, political, and military news of the day. When we reach the eighteenth century the correspondence possesses an interest and an importance which is scarcely surpassed by any similar collection of papers. Among those between whom it passed are some whose names have since obtained a world-wide celebrity. David Hume, Robert Simson, the editor of Euclid, Dr. Robertson, the historian, the Marquess of Bute, Gilbert Elliot, Smeaton, the engineer, Hugh Blair, Erskine the Chancellor, Sir Ralph Abercromby, and Sir John Moore, the hero of Corunna,—all these, not to mention Beaton and Carstairs, and various members of the Mure, Eglinton, and Sempill families, contribute to its pages.

To pass all the Papers in review and note their contents is here impossible. The reviewer is met with a wealth of material which is simply embarrassing. Happily, however, an exhaustive review is not required. The Caldwell Papers have already been sifted both by the biographer and historian, and both have gleaned from them considerable fruit. What we

propose in the present paper is to confine ourselves to the documents belonging to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and to examine them for the purpose of seeing what light they throw on the social and domestic history of the period.

In passing we may remark that the Mures of Caldwell are directly descended from Sir Reginald More or Mure, of Abercorn, Lord High Chamberlain of Scotland in the year 1329, the first of the reign of David II., and belong probably to the same stock as the Irish Moores, Marquises of Drogheda, and Earls of Charleville, whose armorial bearings are the same as those of the Ayrshire Mures. The most ancient seat of the family seems to have been Polkelly, near Kilmarnock. A marriage with an heiress of the Comyns brought to the family the neighbouring estate of Rowallan. Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Adam Mure of Rowallan, was in the first half of the fourteenth century married to her cousin, Robert Earl of Strathern, Steward of Scotland, who as Robert II., was the founder of the royal house of the Stewarts. To his Queen Sir Reginald of Abercorn was grand uncle. For his patrimonial estates Sir Reginald had the lands of Cowdams, Camseskane, and others, situated chiefly in the counties of Renfrew and Ayr,—lands which still hold the Mures of Caldwell as their feudal superiors. In addition to these, Sir Reginald had the extensive domains of Abercorn, Erth, Torwood, the Dene, &c., in the Lothians and Stirlingshire, which came to him by his marriage with the daughter of Sir John Graham of Eskdale and Abercorn, whose sister, Isobel Graham, was the first wife of Walter Stewart, father of Robert II. After the battle of Dupplin he was further enriched by a royal grant of the lands of Tullybardine, and had the honour of being recognised as the richest subject in Scotland. The date of his death is uncertain, but he seems to have died some time prior to the year 1367. His successor, William the elder of his two sons, died without male issue, and the estates of Abercorn, &c., passed with his daughter Christian to Sir John Lindsay of Byres, ancestor of the Earls of Crawford and Lindsay. His patrimonial estates passed to Godfrey Mure, the

representative of his second son, Gilchrist, and the first to be designated 'of Caldwell.' The estates of Caldwell are understood to have been acquired by a marriage with an heiress of Caldwell of that ilk towards the close of the fourteenth century. It will thus be seen that the Mures of Caldwell can claim a remote connection with royalty. The Irish Moores are said to have come originally from Kent; if the assertion be correct, and the Scottish Mures are of the same stock, the Mures of Caldwell, like many another great Lowland house, had an English or Saxon origin.

The earlier of the Papers fall within one of the stormiest periods of Scottish history, and bear ample evidence to the turbulent character of the times. When not engaged in war with the Regent or the Crown, and sometimes even then, the nobles and great landed proprietors were occupied with their private feuds. The Mures of Caldwell were no exceptions. They took their full share in both the political and private troubles of their times. During the fifteenth and following century as many of them seem to have died in battle or by the hand of their assailants as in bed; and not unfrequently they had to seek exemption at the hands of the King from the penalties they had incurred by the unlawful slaughter of their neighbours or neighbours' vassals. In October 1409, for instance, a remission was granted by the Regent Albany to John Mure of Caldwell and others for the murder in one of their local feuds of Mark Neilson of Dalrymple. Adam Mure, whom James the Fourth knighted, is described by Crawford as 'a gallant stout man, having many feuds with his neighbours, which were managed with great fierceness and much bloodshed.' With the Maxwells of Pollok the Mures had a long-standing feud, apparently about the lands of Glanderstone. How it arose does not seem to be exactly known. It was attended, however, with much trouble and bloodshed. Hector, the third son of Sir Adam, was killed near Renfrew in 1499 by John and Hugh Maxwell, eldest son and brother of the Laird of Nether Pollok. The following year the king granted them a remission for the crime, and an arrangement was come to about the lands of Glanderstone. There seems, how-

ever, to have been no intention on the part of the Caldwells to let the matter rest, for sixteen years afterwards John, who in the meantime had succeeded his father Sir Adam, and seems to have inherited somewhat of his character, laid hands on one of his brother's slayers, and, as the following indictment shows, was only dissuaded from taking his life by many prayers:—

'John Mure of Cauldwell :

'Ye and your compliesses, servandis, and uthirs of your comand, assistens and ratihabitounes, are indycteit for ye greit oppressiounes done be you at dyverse tymes to Johnne Maxwell of Netherpollok thir xvi yeir by-gane ; And in tinkin yereof, and pastvewand, ye, in your creuell invyt and malice, sett upon ye said Johnne, of sett purpose, auld feud, and forthocht felloine, besyed ye brugh of Iruyne, with contestatiounes of our sovrane's liegis. The said Johnne Maxwell of Pollok being ryedand, ane servand with himself, in quiett sober maner, doeand his lesum business, knawand na evill of ony persone,—ye and your forsaidis, haiffing spyell upon him, come furth of ye said burgh of Irvyne, and with greit manissing wordis, schowing ye said Johnne and his servand Andro Tempilton for to slay them perforce, and upon your wikit malice wranguislie and violentlie tuik ye said Johnne and his servand, and maisterfullie brocht yame bak quhair they was rydeand to ye place of Eglington, ye beand dwelland yerintill and maister yrof for ye time ; and held him and his said serveand in captivitye, and oppressit thame yerebye,—and had slane yame, and they had nocht obeyit your wikit will,—fra ye ane day att twa houres efter noine, quhill ye morne yairefter att ten houres befor noyne, or thairbye ; Quhille ye erlle of Eglington send his servandis, viz., Charlis Mowatt of Busbie, the laird of Cowdone, and uthirs, quhilk with greit instance and supplicatiounes gat ye said Johnne and his servand releissit agane, and brocht thame to ye said erle of Eglington his House of Ardrossane for yair saiftie, fra your maisterfull crueltie and tirannie ; In manifest contemptiounes of our sovrane's authoritie, actis of Parliament, and lawis of yis realme ; Usurpand therthrow, viz. to yourself, mair nor authoritie royall. And yis ye did in ye moneth of . . . in ye yeir of God M. D. . . yeiris, quhilk ye can nocht denye.'

The result of this indictment, which, though undated, appears to have been drawn up about the year 1500, when the quarrel between the two families was probably at its height, seems to be unknown. For the purpose in hand, however, it is valuable. The great laird riding along on his lawful business, 'in quiet sober manner,' attended by his servant on horseback ; his enemy, spying him out in the distance, coming forth

out of the little town of Irvine with an armed force, accosting him with 'great menacing words,' seizing his person, carrying him back, incarcerating him in the strong room of Ardrossan House, threatening, yet hesitating, to put him to death; the news of his capture spreading, Eglinton sending 'his servants and others'; Mure vowing vengeance, Mowatt of Busby, Cowdone and others, arguing, expostulating, entreating; and finally Maxwell's release, and his riding away mentally vowing vengeance,—all this is graphically depicted, and throws a vivid light on that turbulent age, for the defendant, or, as he would be called in Scotland, the defender, was only one of a class. The West of Scotland, and in fact the whole of the Lowlands, and of the Highlands too, were at the time full of such men; and incidents, or outrages rather, such as that described in the indictment, were of perpetual occurrence. It deserves to be noticed, however, that the existence of the indictment is a sign of a tendency from the worse to the better. Pollok may have had the power to retaliate and seek redress by force of arms, or he may not; the probability is he had. But be that as it may, the intention to proceed against Caldwell by indictment, whether the document itself was ever presented in a court of law or not, is indicative of the growing strength of the law, and of a desire on the part of the injured, instead of seeking to avenge their wrongs by fire and sword, to obtain redress by legal means. Many years had to elapse before the latter method was fully established, yet the signs of the coming change are here.

One effect the indictment, we may safely say, did not have. It put no restraint on the turbulent spirit of the Laird of Caldwell. In 1515 he joined the Earls of Lennox, Arran, and Glencairn, against the Duke of Albany, whom Parliament had after the death of James IV. appointed Regent, and on the 20th of February of that year, with his own forces, and probably with the assistance of those of his friends, he battered with 'artalzerie,' took, and sacked the 'Castle and Palace' of Glasgow, one of the principal fortresses in the kingdom. The owner of the place was James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow and Chancellor of the kingdom, one of the

principal supporters of Albany. For a time Beaton gave no sign of retaliating, or of seeking redress; but he was only waiting for a favourable opportunity. In the following year, as soon as the Regent's party had gained the ascendant and public affairs were reduced to something like order, he brought an action of damages against the Laird of Caldwell for the plunder and destruction of his palace. The finding of the Council in this process has fortunately been preserved, and is one of the most interesting documents in the collection. Further on we shall have to return to it. The fact to be observed now is that the indictment was followed by consequences of a much more serious nature to the family of Caldwell than Maxwell's. Mure was condemned, and compelled to make good a large portion of the spoil he was said to have taken, to return 'ane obligatioun, maid be unquhile Matho Earl of Levinax, contenand the soume of ii^c marks to the said maist reverend fader; ane uther obligatioun maid to him be the chanouns and chapter of Glasgow, contenand the soume of i^m merks, for reparation of the Kirk of Glasgow,' and to pay 'the soume of ii^c marks, for the scaith sustenit be the said maist reverend fader in the destruction of the said castell and palice of Glasgow.' Imprisonment or any other species of punishment except that mentioned above, does not seem to have been inflicted upon the Laird, but the expense of the process and of complying with the decree appears to have involved him in serious pecuniary difficulties. Some time after he was compelled to mortgage his estate of Camseskane, and in 1527, in order to get rid of the mortgage, to borrow from Hugh first Earl of Eglinton the sum of eight hundred marks, and in consideration thereof to grant to him a bond of manrent, by which he bound himself and his heirs, as long as the money was unpaid, to do him military service, and as security to infeft him in the fortalice and five-mark land of Caldwell. The money it would appear was never repaid. A hundred and twenty years after the granting of the bond of manrent, the heirs of the Earl of Eglinton claimed the right of wadset over the fortalice and five-mark land, and two of the most curious papers here printed are opinions of counsel obtained by the

Caldwell family anent the claim, and repelling it. One fact to which prominence is given in these documents and which is attested by the bond of manrent, is that the Laird of Caldwell, like many another laird of his time, could not write. Instead of signing his name to the bond, he simply touched the pen as the notary wrote it. For some reason or other the notary omitted to attest this, though the fact is stated in the body of the document, and on the absence of this attestation counsel based one of their arguments against the Eglintons' claim.

But sharp as the lesson was which the powerful Chancellor taught the Laird of Caldwell, it was not sharp enough to restrain him from having recourse to arms and violence. The times were against it; so also was the bond of manrent. The same year in which the latter was signed, or early in the next following, the Castle of Eglinton was sacked and burnt to the ground by Cuthbert, Earl of Glencairn, and once more the unfortunate Laird of Caldwell was in the thick of the fight. His son and successor led the same turbulent life. In 1543, five years after his father's death, he took part with the Earl of Glencairn in the bloody battle called the 'Field of the Muir of Glasgow,' against the Regent Arran. Six years later he was indicted for having 'with his fyve brothers and twenty-six others, armed in warlike manner, invaded Robert Master of Sempill and his servands for their slauchter, near the place and tour of Cauldwell, and put them to flight'; and the next year, April, 11, 1550, Robert, one of his three sons, was slain by Sir Patrick Houston of that ilk. For this act, described in the records of the Justiciary Court as 'a crewall slauchter, committed under silence of night, on antient feud an forthocht felony,' Archibald Houston, the actual perpetrator of the deed was tried, condemned, and beheaded. This, however, was not considered by the Mures a sufficient satisfaction. The feud continued, and was not healed until some thirty years after, when the Mures bound themselves to submit the question of the amount of compensation due by Sir Patrick to the arbitration of eight of the landed proprietors of the counties of Ayr and Renfrew.

The last of the fighting lairds of Caldwell seems to have

been Sir John Mure, knighted by James V., and killed by the Cuninghams of Aitkett and the Ryeburns of that ilk in September 1570. His successor, Sir Robert Mure, is said to have used considerable violence towards Reid of Kittochside, but there is no documentary evidence in support of the story. He seems to have been on good terms with the King, James VI., and one or two curious letters from the King are here printed. Robert, his son and successor, is described in a decree of the Parliament of 1641 as having 'dyed in his country's service, and on that account certain immunities are granted to his heir. The sword was once more unsheathed by William Mure, who along with other West-country gentlemen of Presbyterian principles, irritated by the persecution to which they and their dependants were subjected on account of their religion, set out to join the Covenanters who were then marching on Edinburgh. Mure acted as their leader, but being intercepted by the King's troops, and hearing that the Whig forces had been defeated at Pentland, they dispersed. Caldwell was attainted and fled, first to Ireland and then to Holland, where he died in the February of 1670. After his exile and death his wife, 'Lady Caldwell,' was subjected to much harsh treatment at the hands of the Government. She and her daughters were imprisoned for three years in the Castle of Blackness, and on the forfeiture of the estate she was not only plundered of the remains of her personal property, but deprived of her jointure provided for her out of the rental, notwithstanding a handsome offer on the part of the Earl of Eglinton, the superior of the lands out of which it had been provided. The estates were given over to General Dalzell of Binns, but were restored by special Act of Parliament in 1690. By this time a laird 'having many feuds on his hands which were managed with great fierceness and bloodshed,' was no longer possible; the old fighting, reckless, turbulent spirit of feudalism, ever ready to carry fire and sword among a neighbour's vassals and homesteads, was utterly crushed; after a conflict of centuries the law had at last vindicated its authority and reigned supreme.

Turning now to the homes and domestic habits of these men, a pretty accurate conception may be formed of the first from

the numerous ruins of castles and peels which crown the summit of many a hill, and overlook many a fertile strath. Few of them have any claims to architectural beauty, and all of them bear the impress of the spirit of feudalism. For the most part they are rough, rude buildings, not over commodious, built for defence rather than for comfort or elegance. Elegance and comfort, indeed, do not seem to have entered their builders' thoughts. The one aim of their builders appears to have been to raise walls, turrets, and towers, for the single purpose of resisting or repelling attack. The Old Place of Caldwell, of which the small tower still standing was only an outwork, was demolished during the forfeiture, and seems to have been for the time a place of considerable size and strength. Among the papers here printed there is unfortunately no description of its interior, and little to show how it was furnished, or what it was in its palmy days. To a certain extent, however, we are able to supply this deficiency from the paper which has been preserved in connection with the action brought by Archbishop Beaton against John Mure of Caldwell in 1517. The inventory it contains of 'insight guds, claithing . . . silkes . . . veschell, harness, vittales, and uther guds,' furnishes a pretty clear idea as to what an Archbishop's house was, and though a laird's house may not have been furnished in all points like the Chancellor's, we shall not be far wrong if we take it as indicating in a general way the manner in which the houses of the wealthier lairds were furnished. Among other things the paper mentions 'fedder bedds,' 'verdour beds,' 'arress werk,' 'ruffs and courtings of say,' 'burd claiths,' and 'towellis of lynning,' 'brass chandelars,' 'twa lang sedles,' 'twa chyrs,' 'cusheins,' 'ane chekker of Evor,' 'ane hingand chandeler,' 'xii tunes of wyne,' 'salt hyds,' 'salmund,' 'salt herring,' 'pepir,' 'ginger,' 'clowis,' 'almonds,' 'twa pundis of cannel,' 'rasings of cure,' 'ix pundis of sugar, price of the pund, iii. s.,'* and various articles of clothing. The Archbishop's house, therefore, would seem to have been furnished to a certain degree of comfort. When he dined, his table

* The money here and afterwards, it need hardly be remarked, is Scots money.

would be covered with a table-cloth, and though the inventory mentions only pewter and tin vessels, the probability is that the table would be adorned with vessels of gold and silver, which the Archbishop would be in the habit of carrying with him whenever he went to stay at any other of his residences, and which escaped the hands of Caldwell for the simple reason probably that owing to the troublous state of the times they had been conveyed to a place of safety. At night the hall or sitting-room would be lighted by a chandelier hanging from one of the rafters in the ceiling, and probably by one or two made of brass ornamented and standing on the table. The wall would be hung with 'arress werks,' of which the Archbishop maintained Caldwell had taken away no fewer than sixteen, two of them being 'of the gretest bynd, price of the pece x lib.' Scattered about the room would be settles and chairs, the former with high backs to keep away the draught, and made to accommodate several sitters at a time, settles and chairs alike being provided with cushions covered with tapestry. In the bedroom the Archbishop and his friends slept on feather beds. Caldwell was charged with taking away or destroying 'xxiii Fedder beds furnist, price of ilk bed viii lib.,' but was ordained to restore only 'xiii fedder beds furnist, price of ilk bed five merks.' The bedsteads, like the walls of the chamber in which they stood, would be hung round with tapestry adorned with rustic scenes, or with plain woollen cloths. The beds were covered over with 'compter claithes,' and the mention of 'four towellis of lynning' would almost suggest that no very great provision was made for washing or bathing. The Archbishop seems to have fared sumptuously, and, like many another priest of the time, to have been fond of good living. For spices and luxuries he seems to have had an especial liking, as the mention of 'xii pundis of pepir, price of the pund vi. s. viii. d.,' 'twa pundis of clowis, price of the pund xl. s.,' 'xxvi pundis of almonds, price of the pund xvi. d.,' and 'half ane barrel of prune damais, price xl. s.,' seems to show; while 'xii tunes of wyne' seems a pretty large supply even for an Archbishop. The kitchen, we need hardly add, was plentifully supplied with spits, 'kettils,' 'pannis,' 'brasin

morters,' 'laddillis,' 'pots,' 'culcruks,' and 'rostyn irnes.' In the larder or storeroom were 'vi dusane Salmon, price of the pece iii. s.,' 'ane last of Salt herring, price of the barrel xxviii. s.; also meal and flour in abundance. Among the Archbishop's clothes mentioned in the list are a 'goun of russit, lynit with furzies,' another 'of broune, lynit wlth mertriaks,' and 'ane goun of scarlett lynit,' also, 'with mertriaks,' and valued at 'xl. lib.' The Archbishop's palace being also a fortress and an arsenal, the munitions of war with which it was supplied are enumerated. These were not very extensive, consisting only of six barrels of gunpowder, eleven 'gunnis,' fourteen 'halkirks,' fourteen steel bonnets, as many pairs of 'splynts' (greaves), six halberts, and four crossbows, though it ought to be remembered that as the Archbishop was then engaged in supporting the cause of the Regent, he would in all probability have most of his arms with him.

It is scarcely probable, however, that the Scottish lairds of the sixteenth century would be housed, or that they lived in precisely the same style as an Archbishop and Chancellor. Still it is not improbable that the Archbishop's house or palace formed something like the ideal at which his contemporaries amongst the Scottish nobility and gentry aimed. Their way of living would in all likelihood be somewhat rougher; and the chances are they would have fewer 'fedder bedds,' and not quite so large a store of 'peces of damas,' 'steiks of say,' fur-lined gowns, or 'draucht claithes,' and few of them, we imagine, could enumerate among their goods and chattels 'ane chekker of Evor' ('price x. li.'), or number among their accomplishments an acquaintance with the game of chess.

Among the Papers belonging to the seventeenth century, are the slightly abridged accounts of the estate of Caldwell during the years between 1644 and 1654. The books were kept by Hew Mure as 'Tutor of Caldwell' during the minority of his two nephews James and William Mure, the latter of whom we mentioned a little ago as suffering exile for marching to the assistance of the Whigs, and contain many interesting particulars respecting the ordinary habits, occupations, and amusements of a young Scottish laird of the time, the cost of his dress,

the materials of which it was made, and the charges for his schooling, boarding, &c. The clothes of the young Laird of Caldwell were made, it would appear, of 'Londoun claithe,' costing twelve pounds the ell; and were radiant with gold and silver lace and buttons, and set off with 'Frenshe taffetie' and Northland tueill, the former costing eight pounds the ell, and the latter fourteen shillings. The charges for making the suit of clothes, including 'drink silver,' an important and frequently occurring item, amounted to eight pounds four shillings. He owned a sword, which cost twenty pounds, two pairs of gloves, a pair of 'gray buitts and a pair of gray shoine,' and among the purchases were 'twa elnes ribens to his shoine.' From time to time the young laird's clothes were mended, as were also his 'gray buitts.' Eleven pounds four shillings were paid 'to the schoilmaster and doctor in Paslay for Wm. Mure his candilmes waidg and offering 1648.' For schoolbooks the charge during the same year was nine pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence. The first entry for the year 1650 is 'for claithe y^r was doill claithe to y^e lard and his broy^r W^m to y^r mother's buriall fifty three pounds.' In the December of the same year the young laird while riding a horse belonging to the laird of Nether Pollok, 'quhilk was ane hundred pundis pryce,' was set upon by a number of Englishmen who made off with the horse, the owner of which accepted fifty pounds as an indemnity; 'so the lard of Ney^r Pollok lost 50 lib.' Later on the two brothers were set upon by the same or other Englishmen and stript of their clothes. During the year 1650 William Mure received in all the sum of twenty one pounds eleven shillings and fourpence 'to keip his purse.' On entering college he paid in fees fifteen pounds, eight pounds five and fourpence for books, and 'his buirding in Glasgow' from Feb. 9, 1651, to Feb. 9, 1652, cost one hundred and eighty five pounds. His sisters, of whom he had two, are mentioned in the accounts but twice; from one of the entries we learn that 'seventeen elnes of sarge' were bought for them in Edinburgh.

We have by no means exhausted the items of interest. There are many others, some of which throw considerable light on the troubled condition of the times in consequence of

the English invasion. Several of them are payments made to tenants as compensation for the quartering of troops upon them; others are allowances for 'great losses,' for 'publick burdings,' for 'mantynance outriks and quarterings,' and one is to a widow whose husband had 'dyeit of the plague.' To cite more or to dwell upon those already cited is not necessary. They are sufficiently explicit to suggest how a young laird of the seventeenth century yet in his teens was clothed, and educated, how he lived and what dangers he ran. The following extract will give some further insight into the social and domestic life of the period:—

'Before the Union, and for many years after it, money was very scarce in Scotland. A country without Trade, without Cultivation, or money to carrie on either of them, must improve by very slow degrees. A great part of the gentlemen's rents were payd in kind. This made them live comfortably at home, tho they could not anywhere ellae. This introdused that old hospitality so much boasted of in Britan. No doubt we had our share of it according to our abilitys; but this way of life led to manners very different from the present. Nothing could affect them more than the restraint young people were under in presence of their parents. There was little intercoure betwixt the old and young; the parents had their own guests, which consisted for the most part of their own relations and near nighbours. As few people could afford to go to town in the winter, their acquaintance was much confin'd. The Children of this small Society were under a necessity of being companions to one another. This produced many strong friendships and strong attachments, and often very improper marriages. By their society being confined, their affections were less diffused, and center'd all in their own small circle. There was no enlargement of mind here; their manners were the same and their sentiments were the same; they were indulgent to the faults of one another, but most severe on those they were not accustomed to; so that censure and detraction seemed to be the vice of the age. From this education proceeded pride of understanding, Bigotry of religion, and want of refinement in every useful art. While the parents were both alive the mother could give little attention to her girls. Domestick affairs and amuseing her husband was the business of a good wife. Those that could afford governesses for their children had them; but all they could learn them was to read English ill, and plain work. The chief thing required was to hear them repeat Psalms and long catechisms, in which they were employed an hour or more every day, and almost the whole day on Sunday. If there was no governess to perform this work, it was done by the chaplan, of which there was one in every family. No attention was given to what we call accomplishments. Reading or writing well, or even spelling, was never thought off. Musick,

drawing, or French, were seldom taught the girls. They were allow'd to run about and amuse themselves in the way they choiced even to the age of women, at which time they were generally sent to Edin' for a winter or two to learn to dress themselves, and to dance and to see a little of the world. The world was only to be seen at Church, at marriages, Burials, and Baptisams. These were the only public places where the Ladys went in full dress, and as they walked the street they were seen by everybody; but it was the fashion when in undress allwise to be masked.' (Vol. I. p. 261-3.

The above was written by Miss Elizabeth Mure, who for some time had principal charge of the Caldwell property, and died at Caldwell in the year 1795, at the age of eighty one. In passing, we may remark that the Papers contain several notices of brides' 'tochers' or dowries. In the middle of the sixteenth century a fair 'tocher' for a young lady of family was reckoned at about five or six hundred marks (£30 to £40 sterling). But in 1583 that of Lady Anne Montgomerie was six thousand. In 1613, Jean Hamilton, the Vicar of Dunlop's daughter, brought her husband five thousand; ten years later the tocher of Jean Knox of Ramphorly, was eleven thousand; Jean Mure's of Glanderstoun, who married in 1671, eight thousand; and Margaret Mowatt's of Inglistone, who was married eleven years later, twelve thousand marks. From which it may be inferred that the wealth of the country was growing with the times.

The following is Miss Mure's not altogether attractive description of a paterfamilias of the second half of the seventeenth century:—

'Every master was revered by his family, honour'd by his tenants, and awful to his domestics. His hours of eating, sleeping, and amusement, were carefully attended to by all his family, and by all his guests. Even his hours of devotion was mark'd, that nothing might interrupt him. He kept his own sete by the fire or at table, with his hat on his head; and often perticular dishes served up for himself, that nobody else shared off. Their children approach'd them with awe, and never spokk with any degree of freedom before them. The consequence of this was that except at meals they were never together; tho the reverance they had for their parents taught them obedience, modisty, temperance.'

'Nobody,' she adds, 'helped themselves at table, nor was it

the fashion to eat up what was on their plate, so that the mistress of the family might give you a ful meal or not as she pleased; from whence came in the fashion of pressing the guests so far as to be disagreeable.'

Of the habits of thought peculiar to the times, the Caldwell Papers contain but few indications. The following is a specimen of Scottish medical science in the seventeenth century, and is very suggestive respecting the ignorance and superstition which prevailed. It is headed 'Dr. Johnstone to the Laird of Glanderstoun, directions for Margret Polick, Pasley Oct. 28, 1692.'

'SIR,—The bearer labours under the common weakness of being now more feard y^e is just. As she was formerlie a little too confident in her own conduct. The spinal bon head hath never been restor'd intirly, qth will make her sensible all her days of a weakness in descent; but will be freed from all achin paines if she nightly anoint it with the following oyl, viz :

'Take a littl fatt dogg, take out only his puddings, and putt in his bellie 4 ounces of Cuningseed; roost him, and carefullie keep the dropping, quin boyl a handfull of earth wormes quhill they be leiklie; then lett it be straind and preservd for use, as said is

'My humble duetie to you Ladie. I am

'Glanderstoun,

'Your most humble servitor,

'JOHNSTONE.'

One or two other specimens of a similar nature occur. In a letter recently printed by Mr. Fraser from the Eglinton Papers,* Sir John Mure of Caldwell writes to Hugh, third Earl of Eglinton, from St. Andrews under date Oct. 10. 1569.

'As to novillis I haif na vderis bot as I haif vriting, except Niknevin thollis ane assayis this Tysday; it is thovcht scho sall suffer the deth; sum vderis belevis nocht. Gif scho deis it is ferit scho doe cummer and caus mony vderis to incur danger; bot as yit for no examinatione me Lord Regent nor the ministeris can mak scho will confess no wytchcreftis nor gilt, nor vderis, bot saysis to me Lord Regent and the examineris that it is nocht that hes cavit her to be taen bot the potingaris; and that for invy, be resson she vass the help of thame that vass onder infirmate; and spakis the most crafte spakein as is possibill to ane woman to be sa far past in yeiris quha is ane hundrit yeris.'

* Reports of the Historical MSS. Commission, 1885, pp. 42-43.

The fact that this poor old woman had acquired the name of Nicknevin, would seem to justify the author of the *History of King James the Sixth* in calling her 'a notabill sorceres.' It is hardly necessary to add that her 'crafte spakein' was of no avail with her judges, the Regent Murray and the ministers. She was condemned and burnt in St. Andrews a few days after the above letter was written.

In these days of easy and comfortable travelling, one letter in the section of these Papers to which we have confined ourselves will be read with a curious interest. It was addressed by James VI. in October, 1590, 'to our richt traist freind the Laird of Caldwell,' and is as follows:—

'Richt traist freind we greit you hertlie weill. Having directit our other lettres unto you of befoir, deaying you, according to the custome observit of auld be our maist nobill Progenitours in sic caisis, to haif directed hither to the Queine our Bedfallow ane haiknay, for transporting of the Ladies accompanying her; Quhareupon we, upoun Zour stay, haif tane occasioun to mervell; zit, thinking to try forder the conceipt quhilk we haif of zour affectioun in furtherance of sic honorable adois as ony wayis concerne ws We are movit as of befoir to visie zou be thir presentis Requeisting zou maist effectuaslie to deliver and direct hither with this berair ane haiknay, to quhom we haif given our commissioun for the samyn effect. In doing quhareof ze will do ws richt acceptable pleasour, to be rememberit in ony zour adois quhare we may gif zou prui of our remembrance of zour gude weill accordinglie. Otherwise, vpoun the informatioun we haif ressavit of sic as ze haif, we will caus the reddiest ze haif be taine be our auctority and brocht in till ws. Hoping rather,' &c. (Vol. I. pp. 83-84.)

The knight might well hesitate to obey the royal commands; for the business he was asked to perform was attended with no small amount of risk, trouble, and expense. Twenty-two years later, the Countess of Linlithgow wrote to her sister the wife of Alexander, the sixth Earl of Eglinton: 'Quhairas ye haif writtin for sum carage hors to bring your carage out of Craigiehall heir; I haif spokin me lord for that effect and thair will be ane doston of hors thair on Thursday tymouslie at morne. As for tumeler cairtis thair is nan heir. As for my cairt it is broken bott I haif causit command thame to bring hrochemes [horse collars] creills and tedderis with thame.' About the same time the Earl of Eglinton writes to his wife to be sure and not fail to send her 'kotche and horsis' to him,

and adds 'kaus sax of the eblest tennentis coum with hir [the coach] to Glasgow to pout hir by all the stratis and dangeris.'*

Of the life of the people during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Caldwell Papers say next to nothing. They are occupied almost solely with that of the upper classes. For indications of the town-life and farm-life of the period, for the habits and customs of the common people, for their tendency after the first excitement of the Reformation to revert to Roman Catholicism, for their addiction to sports and pastimes and pilgrimages, for their conflicts with and their submission to the clergy, for their persistence in observing Yule and Beltane and other festivals—for the traces of all these and of many other features in the popular life of the period, we must look elsewhere. We must remind the reader, however, that we have touched but the outer edge of the Caldwell Papers. The documents which belong to a later period than that with which we have here been concerned, possess an interest yet more varied, and will amply repay perusal. Much that they contain has already been embodied in histories and biographies, and our object here has been to dwell upon those only which, so far as we know, have hitherto been unused.

ART. V.—FALLACIES OF READING LISTS.

IT is an exceedingly significant fact that, not only the reading public in general, but people of high intellectual standing, should lately have been thrown into excitement over the enumeration of a hundred of the books best worth studying, made by a leader of scientific thought, and submitted in the first instance to a Working Men's College. It is a clear sign of the times, and deserves to be carefully pondered.

This much, at the outset, may be frankly admitted. If any

* Report of Hist. MSS, 1885, pp. 43-44.

useful purpose could possibly be served by such an enumeration, there are few Englishmen more competent to perform the task than Sir John Lubbock, and (judging from recent experience) no list is, on the whole, likely to be more satisfactory than that which he himself has supplied.* There are glaring omissions in it indeed, and the arrangement of materials is extremely irritating to the sensitive classifier; but given the limit of a hundred and the necessity of confining the attention to non-living writers and to general culture, one cannot fail to have a certain sympathy with those distinguished authors who have refused to tamper with it or to improve upon it.

But what if we dispute the utility of the process altogether? and what if we cannot see the slightest necessity for it? What, above all, if we find it confusing and misleading, and more likely to do harm than good? This is the position that we deliberately take up, and in defence of which the following observations are offered. It is possible, no doubt, to give with some advantage general counsel as to the kind of books most profitable to be studied. We may legitimately draw a distinction between nourishing and degrading literature, and between writings that simply please or excite and such as also instruct; and on these distinctions we may base certain general precepts, which at any rate would meet with the approbation of the moralist. But the really valuable help is not in connection with the question, '*What to read?*' but in connection with the question, '*How to read?*' and unless you be prepared to submit the first of these questions for settlement to the special teacher in each branch of study, there is no possibility of dealing adequately with it from the general point of view.

One is indeed surprised that this has not been clearly apprehended. So self-evident is it to any one dealing with the laws of intellectual growth, and looking at the matter from the practical standpoint, that the wonder is how Sir John Lubbock and the educationists who have supported him in the *Pall Mall Gazette* should have failed to see it. There is clearly

* See *Contemporary Review*, February 1886, p. 251.

a logical confusion somewhere, and the sooner this logical confusion is dispelled the better.

Our position is, that Reading Lists are essentially fallacious, and it now becomes our duty to say somewhat in support of this contention, albeit very briefly.

1. Aristotle counselled us of old that in all practical matters the great thing is to look to the end ; and, as study is pre-eminently a practical affair, we should naturally suppose that those who stand forth to advise us on the subject would have made it their first concern to limit and determine this end. But, judging from the Lists that have just appeared, nothing seems to have been further from their thoughts. Indeed, the idea that seems to have possessed them (one and all) is, that Reading is an unambiguous operation, and that nobody needs to have the term explicated. Nothing could be more mistaken. People read from a variety of motives—to kill time, to derive pleasure, to refresh the brain, to receive instruction, etc. ; but there is a twofold end in serious reading to which all the others are subordinate, and with which some of them are inconsistent, and Bacon has in part caught it : ‘not to contradict and confute,’ says he, ‘nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find talk and discourse, but to weigh and consider.’ Put more fully,—If reading is to be anything more than either a pastime or a dissipation of mental energy, it must effect a double purpose—it must exercise the intellect and it must conduce to the formation of character. Now, many books do neither. They are either so frivolous or so ‘twaddly’ that neither intellect nor character is helped by them ; or they are so gross, even when extremely clever, that while they sharpen the intellect they undermine the character. Of the former kind, none are included in the printed Lists already referred to ; but it would not be difficult to pick out examples of the latter kind from several of them. *Tom Jones*, for instance, is recommended more than once. Well, we can speak only for ourselves ; but we must say, without any affectation, that we have thrice essayed to read *Tom Jones* through, and thrice have failed.

But, altogether apart from this, Reading Lists, even those

that are most carefully selected, are entirely wanting in correct proportion. Their authors seem not to understand the relation between character and knowledge, and they set down their books in a heterogeneous kind of way, anything but calculated to be helpful to any conceivable user. Thus, in Sir John Lubbock's list, character is distinctly represented in a very brief section, under the heading 'Non-Christian Moralists;' while 'Classics,' which is presumably intellectual, has a list of authors considerably longer.* Yet the leading authors in each section might fitly enough exchange places. The *Ethics* of Aristotle, for instance, is classical as well as moral; while Aristotle's *Politics* is moral no less than classical. Plato's *Phaedo*, again, and Plato's *Republic* have as good a right to be located under the first heading as under any other; and the three works of Cicero specially selected (viz., *De Officiis*, *De Amicitia*, *De Senectute*), are notoriously moral. We need not pursue the list further: it exemplifies throughout what we are condemning, and its defects in this respect are obvious. But let us suppose (no small supposition certainly) that a man has studied the whole of the books recommended, and then let us ask, what is the likely result—(1) On his character, and (2) On his intellect? We are afraid it would tax the maker of the List himself to give even a plausible answer.

2. But, next, all mental training and all training of character is progressive. It is a well-ascertained psychological fact that the mind grows and grows by exercise; and the work of the educationist is to lead it on step by step, from the simple to the complex, by means of a well-graduated curriculum or course.

Brought face to face with a Reading List, we necessarily ask the question, 'To whom is it addressed? for whom is it intended?' And as, obviously, no list of any pretension is addressed

* It ought to be mentioned that no headings are distinctly given by Sir John Lubbock himself in his printed list in the *Contemporary Review*; but they are used in the body of his lecture, and are substantially those that appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette* in the month of January. It is not to this, we presume, that he refers in his footnote—'the lists which have been given in some papers were not complete or correct.'

to mere beginners, but presupposes in those that use it *some* knowledge of the subjects referred to, we demand further, 'How much knowledge is pre-supposed, and in what departments?' Unless these questions are explicitly answered, no prescription of books can be of any profit; the list-former is, of necessity, 'as one that beateth the air.'

Now let us turn to Sir John Lubbock's List, and see how this is managed. Looking over the various headings—Morality, Theology and Devotion, Classics, Poetry (ancient and modern), History, Philosophy, Travels, General Literature, and Modern Fiction,—we are appalled by the thought that the student must be already a most erudite individual—a coryphaeus in learning—ere ever he comes in contact with the list at all,—a man, in short, who must at least have already done as great a feat as reading the books and mastering the languages that are here recommended. For, it would surely be absurd to recommend Plato and Aristotle, Homer and Æschylus, Horace and Cicero and Virgil to a mere novice; and neither Bacon's *Novum Organum*, nor Mill's *Logic*, nor Darwin's *Origin of Species*, nor Descartes' *Discourse on Method*, is precisely the book that we should offer as babe's meat to the incipient philosopher. But if this be so, of what use is the Reading List? We are inevitably landed in a dilemma. Either we are giving counsel to those who do not require it, seeing they have already advanced beyond leading-strings; or we have failed to reach those that look to us for advice, because we have not first ascertained their stage of progress.

Obviously, we must fix in our minds the kind of persons we intend to help, and stick to them; or else surrender the functions of a helper altogether. If we are addressing ourselves to intelligent working men, whose primary education has not gone far, but who are willing and anxious for further self-culture, then we must begin low down in the scale, and advance very cautiously, not at the utmost perhaps to any great distance. If, on the other hand, those whom we advise are people who have had a very good secondary education, but who lack the benefit of a University training, we may start from a considerably higher point than we could in the former case, and continue our prescription much far-

ther. The highest start of all may be made with well educated men, having time, opportunity and talent at command; and only the nature of the subjects themselves need place limits to the height we may go.

Let us exemplify in a course of Philosophical reading. There is no use telling a plain working man to begin with Plato, or Aristotle, or Bacon, or Mill. These are, one and all, by the very supposition as yet beyond his comprehension. We must counsel him to take the most elementary book in Logic we can find (provided always it be a satisfactory one), and the most lucid outline of Psychology (with the same proviso); and only after he has mastered these, need we refer him to something more advanced. And not even to the more advanced student must we prescribe the higher works and higher problems in philosophy till we are assured that he has been thoroughly drilled in, and made himself thoroughly acquainted with, the easier and more comprehensible. It is a nice question when Kant and Hegel should be introduced; and such stiff English works as those of the late Professor Green are certainly not to be overtaken too early.

But, besides the necessity of graduating the books prescribed, it is necessary also to graduate the subjects to be taught. In Mental Science, as everywhere else, the fundamental should lead up to the derived. In which case, Logic as being the general organon of philosophy, should come first; Psychology, or the science of mind proper, would follow; and the last place would be reserved for Ethics,—presupposing, as it does, logical method and psychological doctrines. For, let us take Ethics, and see how dependent it is on Psychology. In the first place, the *methods* of the two sciences are identical: they are both introspective sciences and both help out introspection by means of objective observation. It is customary, indeed, to define Ethics as dealing with the 'ought' and not with the 'is' of human character. And, no doubt, the subject-matter of ethical investigation is human character and human conduct *as they should be*, not simply *as we actually find them*. Nevertheless, as the ideal, in order to be of any true value, must be founded on the real, the starting-point for all ethical speculation must be human nature as it falls actually within our ken,

We must analyze and study the 'is' before we can safely proceed to the 'ought to be,' and however wide a sweep our speculation may take, it must both start from and hope to return again to actual experience. In the next place, Psychological laws hold sway, to a very large extent, in Ethics: and, without a knowledge of these, moral phenomena must appear an utter chaos. Take, for example, the doctrine of Habits. Nothing is more fundamental in ethical science than this: yet we have here but the application of contiguity and similarity to moral data; and, though the matter or content is peculiar, the laws themselves are precisely those of Mental Association in general. Again, we take moral Sympathy: and how are you to explain this except as a particular form of the fixed idea? Once more, we take the Law of Transference—by which is meant the tendency to associate pleasures and pains with their adjuncts or their causes, as when the miser hugs his money-bags, or the rescued sailor cherishes the log that saved his life, or when the invalid contracts a dislike to the physician who cured him by some drastic process: and what is this but psychological association over again? Ethics reposes on psychology, and no proper ethical training is possible until first there has been a thorough training in psychology; and if you proceed to recommend to the untutored ethical student (of whatever age) this work and that work in moral philosophy, apart from any consideration of what study in mental science has gone before, you simply do your best to check his philosophical progress, and in all likelihood you will succeed in rendering him unfit for philosophical investigation altogether.

We might equally exemplify from Literature or from Science.

To 'lisp in numbers,' is undoubtedly not the common heritage of mankind. Hence Prose literature precedes Poetry. But, even in each branch of literature, there is need for a strict adherence to the rule—to proceed from the elementary to the complex, from the easily understood to the more difficult. To prescribe a course of Prose reading, for instance, without first providing for an education in general composition or style, cannot be other than fatal; and to prescribe authors without any regard to their special

difficulties and peculiarities, is the surest way to frustrate the end of literary instruction.

In Science, in like manner, there is an obvious order in training—both within each science, and also in relation to the sciences taken as a hierarchy of disciplines. Even the ancients had there *trivium* and their *quadrivium*; and in old Roman days, and, later still, in mediæval times, students proceeded through grammar, rhetoric and logic, to arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy. Proper consecution of subjects, and strict regard to order in the study of each, were indispensable *then*; how much more indispensable are they *now*! The objective sciences alone, the sciences that deal with outward Nature, count for more to *us* than all the circle of the sciences did to a mediævalist; and if method was the great thing that enabled a man to grasp knowledge and to benefit by it in the days of Aquinas, method is the thing that will alone enable a man to grasp and to retain knowledge at the present day—when science has so vastly increased, and all our energies are needed to keep pace with ever-accumulating discoveries.

3. But now, if it is necessary to attend to the growth and progressive development of the mind in prescribing books for study, it is equally necessary to pay attention to the fact of special aptitudes, tastes and likings.

It is unquestioned that mental capacity and mental power are not alike in all. Nothing, indeed, is more patent to the general observation than that different people have different abilities, and that the sphere where one man will shine is by no means that which is fitted for another. Two students, let us say, are studying History. It is found that one advances daily, the other makes but little way. But substitute Poetry for History, and the order is reversed. He who took most readily to History is found to be least appreciative of Poetry, and he who is at home in Poetry to have the dullest apprehension of History. It is, at bottom, a difference in mental aptitude. Whoever takes naturally to History is, as a rule, naturally endowed with a good memory; whoever takes naturally to Poetry is distinguished by finer feelings and tenderer sensibilities—is, in a word, more emotional.

Now, where is this recognised in the Reading Lists? So far as we can find, nowhere. It is simply treated as though it were

not; and the utility and advisability of such Lists is thereby discredited.

4. But a point of not less interest now occurs. The Lists, it may be said, are constructed only with a view to being helpful in recommending one or two good books in each of the departments recognised; they do not, and they cannot, prove a full guide in any department. If that be so, this immediately raises the question of the propriety of *superseding* earlier writings by later ones. If you simply aim at supplying a good book, on a particular subject, to a man with limited time at his disposal and with limited opportunities, then surely it becomes incumbent on you to see that the book be the most modern (except you be dealing with Classics) and the most trustworthy that you can possibly obtain. We should think little of a naturalist who prescribed to the inquirer the *Natural History* of Aristotle, or the writings of Pliny the Elder; we should even think that he was not a very satisfactory adviser if he adduced Linnaeus or Cuvier. We expect him, above all things, to be up to date; and if he did not refer us to a work which, while accurate and authoritative, contains also the most recent information, we should refuse to accord him our heartiest thanks. So, too, we expect of the botanist something more than a reference to Jussieu and De Candolle, to Ray or to Lindley. If our spare time is scant, we desire to make the most of our leisure moments; and, as the majority of us do not live a hermit life, but mix more or less in society and move about in the world, we wish our knowledge to be such as to shew an intelligent appreciation of what is going on around us, and not simply the old-world erudition which might have been in place hundreds or perhaps thousands of years ago.

Well, how do the Reading Lists meet this desideratum? We must certainly say that they do, one and all, to a very great extent smack of antiquity. Even Sir John Lubbock's List has (*mirabile dictu!*) no section devoted to Science proper; and the only scientific treatise that he takes notice of is Darwin's *Origin of Species*,—which curiously enough he places along with purely philosophical works, forgetting that there is only one chapter in that marvellous book that can rightfully lay claim to the title philosophical—namely, the chapter on 'Instinct.' But Sir John

begins with *Morals*; and he prescribes to us, as non-Christian moral writings (among others), Aristotle's *Ethics*, Marcus Aurelius's *Meditations*, Confucius's *Analecta*, and Mahomet's *Koran*. Well, against Aristotle and Aurelius we have nothing to say. They are both well worthy of the place they occupy in the history of philosophy, and the day will never come when either of them will cease to be venerated and read by moralists. But surely it is a somewhat funny notion to prescribe them as writers *par excellence* for the study and guidance of the present generation. Is it really so very important, after all, that we moderns should be brought back to thinking in precisely the way that the ancients did—in mental forms altogether alien to those of the nineteenth century? Or is it that no advance has been made in *Ethics* since the days of the Stagirite, and that here is a science that attained finality more than two thousand years ago? Neither insinuation is at all well founded; and Dr. Bain and Mr. Herbert Spencer, Professor Sidgwick and Mr. Leslie Stephen, would all have a good deal to say in the matter, if we allowed them to give full utterance to their opinions—not to mention (although somewhat more doubtfully) Dr. Martineau.

Then, let us take *Political Economy*. Sir John Lubbock gives us Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, and Mill's *Political Economy*. Admirable works both of them, no doubt, and well worthy of study. But is it necessary for the general student, at this time of day, to go through Adam Smith, or even a selection from him, in order to reach the desiderated knowledge? Much has been done in this department since Smith's time, and even since Mill's. We have had Cairns and a host of others working on the subject, and has not Professor Sidgwick himself given us a great economical treatise?

Then, take general *Philosophy*; and, although we do have one or two of the greatest names in this department adduced by Sir John Lubbock—*viz.*, Bacon, Mill, Berkeley, Descartes, Locke,—yet not one of these, with the exception of Mill, is adequate to represent the tendencies of the present day. They are all great names and philosophical landmarks; but what was good in each has been taken up by later thinkers, and carried forward; and it is necessary to know their teaching, not in its crude or undeveloped

form, but in its modern dress—as adapted to the circumstances and needs of the time.

Sir John Lubbock's 'History,' is even more remarkable. *Hume* is his great English historian—for what reason, it is impossible to conceive. There is certainly need of superseding here, and a recasting of the whole section.

But not less apparent is the need for superseding in 'Poetry and General Literature.' Certain names indeed stand forward, and are valuable for all time. Such are Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton—among the Poets; and Addison, Macaulay, De Quincey, Carlyle—among the men of letters. But other names—such as Dryden, Pope, Southey, Gray—are only for the special student, and do not require a general recognition.

The most successful sections, as it appears to us, are those on 'Travels,' and 'Modern Fiction,' although all too brief; and had the others been formed on a similar plan, they would have been less exposed to adverse criticism. The truth is, that the question of superseding seems not to have occurred either to Sir John Lubbock himself or to his friendly critics in the *Pall Mall Gazette*; and yet, on the determination of this question depends very much the success that is likely to attend Reading Lists altogether.

5. It next occurs to ask, what about the relation between Reading and Languages? It is observable that in Sir John Lubbock's List, and still more in certain of the others in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, a great deal of stress is laid upon Classics (Greek, and Latin), and living Foreign languages are partially represented—particularly, French and German. Now, without raising the question of Language *versus* Science as a mental discipline, one would like very much to know,—Does Sir John Lubbock mean us to be proficient in all these languages? Are we required to be expert in the dead as well as in the living tongues—in all such, at any rate, as have an acknowledged literature? If so, we can only answer, 'Life is short and art is long;' and Sir John himself will not object to our concluding the sentence from Hippocrates, —'Opportunity is fleeting, experiment slippery, and judgment difficult.'

6. Furthermore. Assume the power of reading a foreign tongue (ancient or modern), and is there not therein implied a considerable amount of knowledge of books in that tongue—an implication that of necessity dispenses with the need of any such help as Reading Lists? In the very process of acquiring a language, we obtain more than a mere acquaintance with its words and grammar, its ideas, and its style; we are introduced besides to its great writers and their characteristics. Who, for instance, can learn French without at the same time hearing much about all the classical French authors—their writings, their critical peculiarities, their literary position, and so forth? Who can gain a familiarity with Latin without also being brought into contact with the leading Roman orators, historians, politicians, poets? Who that is competent to enjoy a Greek author in the original has not also at command a store of Greek knowledge, outside that particular author? Undoubtedly, the training necessary for making any great linguistic acquisition does not stop with the mere getting up of the language, but has far-reaching educative bearings; and unless these all be taken account of, you hope in vain to be helpful in guiding the studies or directing the reading of others.

There are many more observations of a similar kind that might be made bearing on this subject and pointing to the same end. But perhaps sufficient has now been said to justify us in our conclusion, that list-making of the sort we have been examining is a wholly futile procedure, and cannot give any adequate assistance to any conceivable inquirer. We have Catalogues of Books in Libraries indeed, and we have the 'Selected Books' of great publishing firms; and each of these we can understand, for each has its obvious uses. But these general registers cannot plead utility, and they seem to us to proceed upon an entirely false conception. We fully endorse the opinion of the Principal Librarian of the British Museum:—'You will find it difficult to guide young people (any people) in their reading by merely forming a list of good books. Literature has many branches, each of which has its

"best books." Let a young man choose his line of study, and he will find no difficulty in discovering the best authority in it.'

ART. VIII.—ETHICS AND ART IN RECENT NOVELS.

1. *For Maimie's Sake. A Tale of Love and Dynamite.* By GRANT ALLEN. London: 1886.
2. *My Royal Father. A Story for Women.* By JAMES STANLEY LITTLE. London: 1886.
3. *Colonel Cheswick's Campaign.* By FLORA L. SHAW. London: 1886.
4. *Fortune's Wheel.* By ALEX. INNES SHAND. Edinburgh and London: 1886.
5. *A Tale of a Lonely Parish.* By F. MARION CRAWFORD. London: 1886.
6. *Mrs. Peter Howard.* By the author of 'The Parish of Hilbey,' etc. London: 1886.
7. *Sealed Orders.* By ELIZABETH J. LYSAGHT. London: 1886.
8. *Dagonet the Jester.* London: 1886.
9. *Demos. A Tale.* London: 1886.

‘OUT of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh.’ The saying, we imagine, means, for a large proportion of the community, simply that wickedly-disposed people are prone to use very bad language, while the virtuous are ever ready to pour forth virtue on the slightest provocation. The action, lifted out of the extremely narrow groove in which it is thus confined, and allowed to expand to its natural dimensions, presents itself as a terse statement of the broad fact that intellect is entirely subordinated to the control of the moral faculties; is simply a machine of widely varying capacity, wholly depending on those faculties for the character of its productions.

In every domain where the intellect can act, this fact is

apparent. 'What is strength without the aid of wisdom?'—we quote from memory—but what can intellect achieve unless it be guided by energy, perseverance, patience, and love of truth? The value of, for instance, a treatise on *Fermentation*, would depend mainly upon how far these qualities had guided the writer's researches. It is, however, when the intellect is at work upon the creations of imagination, that the influence of moral qualities is most directly and powerfully apparent. If a man sits down to write a novel, his moral faculties will not only be, to some extent, responsible for the sort of plot he will sketch out, and his manner of working it, but they will be entirely answerable for the atmosphere of his book; that subtle quality of a novel which a critic often feels to be its chief charm or condemnation, but which yet seems entirely to elude his efforts to define in words.

Did space allow, it would be both interesting and useful to work out the analogy between moral and physical atmosphere; showing how close is the parallel between the action of the one on a landscape, and of the other upon creations of imagination; so that just as scenery depends mainly for its beauty on atmospheric conditions, those phases of life and conduct, which from the scenery of a novel, charm or repel, mainly according to the sort of moral atmosphere which pervades the book. The subject is well worth the consideration of novel readers, if only for the fact that attention to this quality will often justify their sentiments to themselves, especially that feeling of repulsion which is sometimes produced by a novel in which it is impossible to take exception to any definite incident or expression.

The moral atmosphere of a novel must of course depend upon the moral tone of the writer, and the moral tone of the writer depends upon the abundance of the heart. Now if it chance, wittingly or unwittingly to the possessor, that the abundance of the heart be mud, the moral tone must be exhalations from mud, and the moral atmosphere imparted to a novel will necessarily be strongly impregnated by those exhalations. We cannot venture to deny that such an atmosphere may invest the scene with a certain baleful attraction,

but nothing can render it a wholesome invigorating atmosphere.

Moral mud is of many kinds, or rather assumes many different forms. Of late a brand new mixture has been fabricated, called moral purity, a singularly offensive preparation, the exhalations from which have been most detrimental to the general moral atmosphere. As yet, we are thankful to say, the nauseous task has not been forced upon us of examining into its direct influence upon fiction. We rejoice, but with trembling, and only hope the immunity may be lasting. But there is another sort of mud rather unpleasantly prevalent at present, which has, we suspect, a perhaps unadmitted kinship with the first, and is called emancipation. Emancipation means 'girding' at all moral restraints, which is, in fact, equivalent to apotheosis of the passions, *as yet* attractively clad in gorgeous raiment called natural innocence. Under the beneficent sway of emancipation every man is to be a law unto himself, though still apparently retaining as the fundamental basis of his actions the right, in all points, to seek, first, self-gratification. We have some remembrance of certain records of the result, over 3000 years ago, of every man doing what was right in his own eyes, and, alas, those results do not tend in the direction of sweetness and light. We fear that the survival of the fittest has not greatly improved our chances since then; at least, if the results of emancipation are to produce such a moral atmosphere as that of a novel which has come lately under our notice, breathing strong exhalations of that peculiar form of mud.

For Maimie's Sake, records the history of a sweet blossom of emancipation, nourished upon pure reason, in a quiet seaside village, by a pagan old father, a retired sea-captain. When the story opens she is about twenty years of age, and an object of universal adoration in the place, especially to the surrounding fishermen. Here we feel called upon to enter a protest on behalf of working-men. Speaking from some experience, we can affirm that they have, as a class, a rather remarkable aptitude, a sort of instinct, in fact, for estimating and cataloguing women of the higher social class; and however much

emancipated artists, sentimental amateur chemists, and clandestinely married college tutors, might fall down and worship before the shrine of this adorable piece of innocence, working-men would have summed her up with epigrammatic completeness, probably in language a little too bald for repetition.

There appears to us to be something approaching to despairing persistency in the amount of assurance we receive that the vagaries of this opening rose-bud are the result of her guileless innocence. Her method of manifesting this innocence is simple, but a little monotonous. Her one object in life is to throw herself into the arms of every good-looking man, married or single, whom she comes across. This tendency, when it is intermittent, is not without its attractions for men of a certain class, but when it becomes chronic it is apt to pall. A man does not care to have always to go about with his arms closely folded, hugging himself, in fact, as the only safeguard against having foreign and uninvited material for hugging violently thrust upon him. Only the moral equivalent for a pitchfork could have kept Maimie off. The amateur chemist, however, a man of good fortune, much addicted to the manufacture of explosives, is thoroughly captivated by this guileless innocence, and marries Maimie. Thereafter she finds that another lover has got rid of a drunken wife, by the simple expedient of giving her money enough to insure her drinking herself to death. Maimie then discovers that she cannot live without him, so returns home, and forthwith shoots her husband in his laboratory. She wounds him dangerously; then overwhelms him with expressions of endearment, and, being always very truthful, clearly explains her motives for this somewhat unsatisfactory proof of her affection. Protestations of devotion must, we should think, lose some of their attractiveness, when emphasised with pistol bullets.

‘Then you meant to shoot me, just to get rid of me, so that you might marry Adrian, Maimie?’ he said at last, very slowly, but quite pitifully.

‘Oh Sidney! Oh my darling! It was a moment’s impulse. I hardly knew what I was doing. I do love him so dearly, Sidney.’

The much enduring Sidney then manages to escape from conjugal affection and pistol bullets to a hospital, where he devotes his energies to the attempt to shield his domestic angel from the results of her innocent little frolic; surmising, with probable correctness, that the cruel wicked law would be very unkind to sweet darling little Maimie, whom he still continues to apostrophize as 'dear tender-hearted innocent little Maimie.' By a miraculous performance he contrives to establish a belief in his own death, in order that the guileless one may marry Adrian. It seems, by the way, a little hard upon him that so much emancipation should not have emancipated him from the chance of a pistol bullet in his back, by rendering the child of nature properly superior to any regard for such an effete institution as holy matrimony. She is not shy. Within six weeks she summons Adrian to her presence, and promptly requires him to marry her. His plea for a year's delay she meets by a peremptory demand that he shall surrender in six months. Still she is hampered by her unfailing candour, and finds herself impelled to explain that little episode in the laboratory, though with some misgivings. Adrian's reply is surely unparalleled in the annals of imaginative literature.

'Little pet,' he whispered, 'my beautiful, delicate, innocent, little Maimie, I ought to have told you long before now that I knew it. I knew it, Maimie; I knew it perfectly. My darling, my darling, to think that you should trouble your sweet little head about breaking to me such a trifle—a nothing—an accident. Of course, Maimie, I knew you shot him . . . and I knew for whose sake you did it, too, my angel!'

Ultimately, a curious entanglement forces Sidney to reappear, when he is reproached by Maimie for having placed her in a false position, by allowing her to marry Adrian while he is still alive. He appears to feel the force of the reasoning, as he retires and incontinently drowns himself; so all is made right for sweet little Maimie, and Adrian is left to enjoy his fool's paradise, and wait his turn.

As it is impressed upon us throughout this book that Maimie is a guileless innocent child of nature, unspoiled by artificial

restraints, and conventional morality, we think we are justified in holding that emancipation, as herein set forth, is most productive of a most pestiferous moral atmosphere. Neither does it appear to us to act beneficially on the intellectual faculties. The book abounds in marvellous incidents. A murder is committed, and though the police know who did it, no search is made for the criminal until about two years after, when a *deus ex machina* is urgently needed. There are surgeons who are able, in making a post-mortem examination, to mistake a man shot from in front, with lung grazed and spine injured, for another man, who was shot from behind, the ball entering 'beside the shoulder, and passing out below the right lung.' Then a coroner's inquest promiscuously examines, or rather does not examine, into the shooting business in the laboratory, and the origin of a fire in a hospital. Finally, Sidney sends to a female Nihilist living in Soho, a post-card written in French, and signed with his name in full, telling her he is going to drown himself, and begging her to go and identify the body as that of Stanaslus Benyowski, the very man whom the police are at the moment eagerly seeking.

'How rapidly do we sink,' the writer moralizes, 'when once we begin to play tricks with the truth, and to palter with our consciences'—a not strikingly original discovery, but one which we think none will dispute the right of the author of *For Maimie's Sake* to proclaim.

The next novel we have to notice bears the stamp of the agnostic mint, and we are not favourably impressed. The moral atmosphere of *My Royal Father* is not a pleasant one. We are not prepared to charge Agnosticism with being mud, although we admit a strong impression that it has a tendency to open the sluices and let the mud in. But it does not, as in this story it makes its influence felt, create an atmosphere in which it is pleasant to abide. The design of the book appears to be to give an Agnostic view of certain evil social aspects of a certain class of society, interpreted with Agnostic strictures, and prescriptions bearing on those evils. Some little acquaintance with even a class of society is a desirable preliminary to writing about it; but the writer of this book

appears to be in a parallel position to him who announced that having fully formed his opinion, he was now ready to hear reasons. Should Mr. Little ever become better acquainted with facts, he will find it requires some ingenuity to mould them into conformity with his mental creations.

The occurrence in the book of such words, as 'gully,' 'kopje,' whatever that may mean, and 'buggy,' suggests the Colonies. But unfortunately not even attainment of the sublime heights of agnosticism will enable an aspiring colonist to describe a social class of which he is ignorant. Dukes have endured sore handling since our American cousins fell in love with the peerage, but never, we think, has such a miraculous Duke figured in the pages of a novel, as the Duke of Tiddborough; nor are the other characters in the story much less remarkable than this astounding personage. There is a magnificent agnostic baronet, Sir Vershoyle d'Aubigné, of whose stupendous labours on behalf of his fellow creatures we hear much, and see little. He is the brilliant contrast to those evil creatures the clergy—those incipient Torquemadas, whose persistent course of cruelty, tyranny, and oppression, so terribly harrows the righteous soul of the rampant agnostic; and principally distinguishes himself by falling in love with the wife of his youngest brother, the special villain of the piece; and by tendering to an aggrieved husband the most extraordinary piece of advice ever excogitated by agnostic or any other brain. This marvellous episode is a good specimen of the writer's acquaintance with high class society in England. The villain aforesaid, irresistible to women—how not, when 'his eyes were large, lustrous, and fawnlike, shaded by long eyelashes,' is laying siege to the young wife of an old lord. The old lord meets the villain's wife in the park, informs her what is afloat, and requests her to meet him the next morning, and tell him whether she can do anything to control her husband, and prevent him from pursuing his conquest? He begs her to forgive him for applying to her, and concludes, 'I want to save the girl if I can. That's all.' Mrs. d'Aubigné consults her agnostic brother-in-law; and this is his advice. 'Say to him, that in three weeks time, or less, your husband will have tired of his conquest, and that it is his best

policy to let matters be.' This amazing message is faithfully delivered to the old lord by Mrs. d'Aubigné, 'and he thanked her, and left in silence.' Can there possibly be any further doubt of the writer's intimate acquaintance with the manners and customs of English noblemen?

One remarkable feat this writer has achieved. He has managed to come to hopeless grief in, we think, a hitherto unattempted direction, over those unmanageable verbs, 'to lie,' and 'to lay.' 'I cannot be insensate, (*sic*) when I remember that my forefathers, ever since we had a history have lain their bones to rest there.' But we meet with stranger performances than this feat of the forefathers. An arrangement in gunpowder, after lying in wait for certainly over twenty years, explodes with unerring and ill-timed precision, the moment the key is turned in the lock of a cabinet, to the great damage of the unfortunate Mrs. d'Aubigné. In her subsequent delirium she reveals that she shares the infatuation of her agnostic brother-in-law. He goes out to meditate, not in the fields, but in a boat on the river. All nature showers portents upon him. The swallows 'were circling in mighty armies around him, wheeling, soaring, and sweeping the water. Now they were a dark opaque mass, and then, in the twinkling of an eye—as they wheeled with their nether portions towards the setting sun—the entire phalanx was transformed into a bright, luminous, pearly, almost transparent cloud.' 'The sun was setting in colours of abandoned sensuous luxuriance.' An infuriated bull came, 'and positively thundered at the unoffending oarsman.' Who could doubt a climax was approaching; but who would have looked for the thunder-bolts of Jove in the shape of 'a tiny kitten?' Seven pages of soliloquy, and exasperated fate can stand no more. Trying to rescue the kitten from a retriever, the unfortunate agnostic gets mixed up in a mill-wheel, and has only just time to strike an attitude ere he is no more. A truly sad instance of misplaced benevolence, because, between the mill-wheel and the dog, it is clear the kitten must have perished also, so no one is any way advantaged by this heroic self-sacrifice. As Sir Vershoyle d'Aubigné is a great light in political economy

as well as in philanthropy, it is the more reprehensible of him not to have taken this fact into account. Although *For Maimie's Sake*, can give *My Royal Father* many points in sheer repulsiveness, and yet win easily, the opinion is forced upon us that agnosticism has doubtful influence upon both the moral atmosphere and literary merits of a novel.

Colonel Cheswick's Campaign carries us at once into the sphere of that old-fashioned morality which emancipation and agnosticism delight to have thrown off. There is not a trace of the religious moral about the book, but there is the pure wholesome novel atmosphere necessarily surrounding a noble nature, living a life wholly untainted by any trace of selfishness. The story is simple, the plot slight, but the heroine is a singularly beautiful conception, and the other characters are all genuine human beings, true to life, in their virtues and failings, such as we have all known. The book is charming to read, and morally beneficial to remember. The method in which Ailsa Cheswick's devotion to her father manifests itself is clear evidence of the vigorous, healthy, moral tone of the writer. Such devotion is only too apt, in fiction, to issue in some miserable self-sacrifice, which excites little feeling save contemptuous impatience. Ailsa Cheswick is a noble girl, and her father, with all his faults, is a fine character, so their reciprocal influence on each other induces healthy, vigorous, not sickly sentimental action. In all the range of possible sentiment there is, perhaps, none so perfectly beautiful, as the mutual affection between a girl of the heroic type, and a comparatively young father; and we do not remember ever to have seen the relationship so exquisitely and touchingly portrayed. 'My blessing,' Col. Cheswick calls his daughter, and rightly, for it is very easy to see how the love given and created by such a pure noble nature had been his salvation, morally, just as her clear head and business capacity had saved the wreck of his property. Another admirable touch, in evidence of the girl's moral tone, is her insistence that Captain Charteris ought to give up the fortune which is legally his, because his moral claim is not sound. It is a gladsome thing to find in a novel such clear perception that the rule by which

an honourable man should guide his actions is not merely what the law will sanction.

We have said quite enough to show that novel-readers have much to gain by reading *Colonel Cheswick's Campaign* for themselves. Not only is its moral atmosphere pure and invigorating, but its plot and incidents will bear scanning. On only two points do we find the writer at fault. Ailsa Cheswick might have acquired the complete mastery attributed to her over all details of estate and farm management—but not at twenty-two years of age. It is but a small part of such work that can be learned in an office, and, for the rest, practical experience is needed. No amount of ability can hasten the course of the seasons, and practical experience of a great many seasons is a necessary step to the attainment of such proficiency as is attributed to Ailsa Cheswick. We would also advise the writer to consult the Acts of the Apostles on the subject of Festus and Agrippa. She will do well also to refer to the Revised Version, which has very completely disposed of that time-honoured quotation. We shall perhaps be held ungracious for pointing out such small blemishes; but when we express great admiration for a novel, it is surely well to show that we have scanned it closely; and there can be no doubt that perfect accuracy in minute detail does add an additional charm to excellent work.

In *Fortune's Wheel*, as in *Colonel Cheswick's Campaign*, the story mainly turns upon the affection between a father and his only daughter; and were we to compare the two, we should be disposed to assign to the former the superiority in vigour and force of drawing, to the latter that of subtile atmospheric charm. Comparison is not, however, a necessary part of our work, save in contrasting the good with the bad; and the merit of both these novels is unquestionable. In *Fortune's Wheel*, Providence being gracious to us, we find ourselves still in the atmosphere of the old morality. We scent neither the mud of emancipation nor the dubious compound of agnosticism. The air is pure, fresh, and invigorating. Moray of Glenconan is a genuine Scot, and a thorough man. The first sketch of David Murray, of his nephews, Leslie and Venables—men who clearly do not hold the inalienable rights of men and ducks to

be identical—and of his bright, beautiful, and wholly un-emanipated daughter, Grace, encourages our moral lungs to play freely; and when we come to Moray's misgivings because the foundation of his fortune lay in actions which appeared justifiable enough to the young adventurer, plunged in the turmoil of commercial life, in the midst of a low-toned morality, but which, looked back upon in calmer moments and with matured judgment, hardly seem to him to come within the scope of what is allowable to an honourable man, we know we may go fearlessly forward. But how superior are the Agnostic children of light! The superb Agnostic of *My Royal Father* disapproves, on principle, of sport, but draws rents from his shootings in Scotland, and largely devotes both time and money to promoting the welfare of his fellow-creatures. Thus he solves that problem about serving God and Mammon which purblind Christianity has found so perplexing.

The plot of *Fortune's Wheel* is, perhaps, fairly chargeable with being slightly improbable; and Venables' raid upon the borough of Ballyslattery, though very amusing, must from an artistic standpoint be condemned. We admit that the episode of Mr. O'Teague's deliciously Irish determination to increase the number of opposing candidates, in order that Venables may have more opponents to fight, is one which might tempt any novelist to stray; but still the incident, altogether, is merely a piece of lively padding, which has no bearing on the story, and, as such, is a flaw in the construction of the plot, which is otherwise worked with skill and care. In those scenes and incidents where we can follow the writer, he shows himself a thorough master of the subjects he treats. When he carries us off to Sumatra, we can only say that he writes with a clearness and precision which make the scenes he depicts very vivid and life-like to those who know nothing of them personally. *Fortune's Wheel* is a kind of novel which is a boon to all lovers of healthy imaginative literature; true to nature, in her healthy, not her diseased, aspects, with a well-constructed and carefully-worked plot, and abundance of incident. It is of deliberate purpose that we do not dwell more at length upon both this story and *Colonel Cheswick's Campaign*. We could

point out, in both, many unnoticed merits; but in so doing we should reveal a great deal of both stories. Where we condemn, we are bound to show cause. Where we can heartily and cordially commend, readers have no cause to thank us if we do more than is needed to excite their desire to read the books for themselves. To read a good novel with foreknowledge of the general scope and detail of the plot, is to lose much of the pleasure it can afford. Hence adverse criticism must naturally run to greater length than favourable criticism.

These remarks apply with special force to *A Tale of a Lonely Parish*. Mr. Marion Crawford has long since placed his ability as a novel-writer above all question, but some of his earlier work appears to us to be palpably marred by a slight vulgarity of tone. From any such defect, *A Tale of a Lonely Parish* is wholly free. It is as remarkable for scholarly refinement as for masterly workmanship. But its powerful, admirably-worked plot is so very simple, that it is hardly possible to say very much about it without virtually telling the whole story. The situation is one which has been often enough used to gratify, in glaring colours, a vulgar appetite for horrors—a more distressing one it is difficult to conceive. Under Mr. Crawford's masterly hand the tragedy remains, but the ugliness is gone, and the whole episode is merely used to throw pure, noble, and lofty sentiments into high relief. The lonely parish and its vicar are excellent sketches of that phase of English life, and though the interest of the story mainly centres round Mrs. Goddard and Mr. Juxon, the remaining characters are all admirably drawn, save only, perhaps, the unfortunate detective, who belongs a little too much to that conventional type which is oftener found in novels than in real life. One excellent lesson the story enforces by the mere necessity of its truth to nature—the fact that, in painful and trying circumstances, a man whose whole life has been under the guidance of the nobler part of his nature, may more safely trust to his instincts to guide him, than to his reasoning powers. Being what it is, a great merit in *A Tale of a Lonely Parish* lies in its being short; for, once begun, it is extremely hard to leave it until one has finished it.

We have purposely dwelt upon these first five novels on our list at a length which leaves us little space to devote to the remainder, because they specially illustrate the characteristics on which we wish to dwell. Every ethical or religious system must be ultimately judged, not by the merits or demerits of its special exponents, but by the nature of its influence on humanity at large. In those days, at least, one important symptom of the nature of that influence is to be found in the class of imaginative literature to which it gives rise. There we find evidence of the moral tone resulting from the system.

What are the influences deducible from the fairly typical books we have examined? Purely of moral atmosphere, truth to nature, skilful treatment, accuracy in incident and detail, are all found on the side of writers whose general tone is that of the old Christian morality. Under the shelter of emancipation and agnosticism linger lovingly, not alas, sweetness and light, not morality tended with emotion; but muck, mire, and monsters. Whereby it appears that there is really nothing new under the sun, and that not even in the nineteenth century can genius, by hanging grapes and figs, grown, probably unconsciously, under the influence of the older morality, on thorns and thistles, endure those thorns and thistles to bear grapes and figs themselves.

Mr. Peter Howard is a story written with considerable power, but somewhat failing in attractiveness through want of balance of parts. The ugliness of things is represented by the meanness and stillness of Adeline Martell, Clara Warton, and the rank and file of Crabberton society, and by the grasping sordidness and miserable vulgarity of the Howards. Captain Gressey and Millicent are not sufficient as a counterpoise, and so the whole tone of the book is rather depressing. Still the story is interesting, and well worth reading. The writer has touched one of the saddest problems of the day with a healthy touch, and clear moral insight; leaving those who are able to receive it to draw the lesson, that he that shall endure to the end, shall be made perfect through suffering.

Scaled Orders, is a book we can neither very specially com-

mend, nor greatly condemn, save for a cover exceeding in atrociousness any previous efforts in that line which have come under our notice. The tempers of critics are proverbially fragile. Whose ingenuity of perversity is responsible for wantonly thrusting upon such tempers the jar of constant contemplation of that hideous splatter of white, and splash of red? We can say little more of the book than that a melo-dramatic plot is sufficiently well worked to prevent it seeming ludicrous, and that the story is sensational enough to be very interesting to those novel readers who mainly seek for sensational excitement in fiction. It is, in fact, simply a cleverly written sensational tale, unobjectionable, if not taking very high rank, from a moral point of view.

Of *Dagonet the Jester* we find it rather difficult to say anything. Whether the cause may be in our natural dullness of spiritual insight we know not, but the fact is we found it impossible to keep hold of the thread of the discourse. We will not actually say 'Like a cuttle fish in water, every movement produces a cloud of ink, which shrouds his' (*i.e.*, the writer's) 'thought in darkness.' But we certainly found ourselves perpetually struggling in mist, uncertain whether we were seeking to fathom abysmal depths, or very shallow depressions. Of one point we are very certain, that the Jester had hard times of it. Also he is certainly represented as being forty-five years of age, more than eighteen years after he was thirty years old; to perchance a somewhat uncertain mental grasp is responsible for the mistiness. Could a 'glossary of the Latin and High Dutch tongues,' about the date of the Commonwealth, enable a student to discover that 'Eidechse,' means a squirrel? Not having the opportunity, at the moment, of consulting authorities, and being well aware that ordinary dictionaries are by no means absolutely trustworthy on the subject of the common names of animals or plants, we suggest the doubt with all reservation. Certainly throughout a somewhat promiscuous course of German reading, we have never chanced upon the word used with any other signification than that of lizard.

Demos has reached us too late to occupy the prominent place due to so powerful and important a publication. It is a book not only to read, but to mark, learn, and inwardly digest; a most

thorough exposure of that most transparent of shams, so called 'Socialism,' pitiless in its calm completeness, and total absence of any animus, or trace of personal feeling. The author keeps himself entirely out of sight; he deals with a class which it is abundantly evident he well knows, 'tells his story with straightforward vigour and directness, and but little attempt at literary polish, and leaves it to point its own moral. By the simple means of truthful portraiture, he shows that the motive force which underlies a fiery crusade on behalf of the oppressed wage-earning class is a selfishness as absolute as any which has helped to produce the evils against which it declaims. The lowest, most ignorant classes, are to be roused to a ruinous attack of brute force upon capital, for, in spite of specious assurances, that is where it must end, nominally for their own benefit, really, that by their means their leaders may obtain wealth, notoriety, or whatever else may be the object of their vulgar personal ambition.

Richard Mutimer is, perhaps unconsciously, at least at first, a sham from first to last—a sham revealed by that crucial test, the sudden acquisition of wealth; for there is no greater fallacy than a belief that a man's character is changed by his becoming suddenly wealthy. The change simply brings out what is in him, by removing restraints imposed by less independent circumstances. Mutimer, the zealous champion of the oppressed wage-earning class, become a capitalist, professes to devote his wealth to the benefit of 'the Propaganda,' is by no means a specially lenient master; is feverishly anxious for vulgar applause, and personal prominence, and in order to associate himself more closely with the class he has denounced, is guilty of the meanest treachery. The sudden collapse of his fortune is evidently just in time to prevent it from being withdrawn from the service of 'the cause,' and devoted to more personal uses. There is keen irony in two incidents in the course of the story. First, in the evident willingness of Mutimer, the man born and bred as a mechanic, to commit a felony, rather than give up his own possession of that capital which he had denounced as an iniquitous thing; while his wife, one of the hateful upper class, will willingly face the life of a mechanic's wife in London, in order that justice may be done. Second, in the final catas-

trophe coming to pass through Mutimer, back in his old character as a social agitator, inciting a large number of the working class to invest their savings in just one of those schemes which would be impossible but for the existence of that accumulated capital which he has spent his life in denouncing.

'Arry Mutimer is significant in evidence of how soon the socialist millennium would find itself face to face with a dangerous class, well instructed by its teaching in the advantage of the application of brute force to the acquisition of prosperity.

On the whole, *Demos* appears to us one of the most valuable publications we have seen for a long time, and should its full significance come home to the class of which it treats, we only hope the writer may never find himself recognized in 'Commonwealth Hall,' or any other seminary for the diffusion of the doctrine of universal brotherhood.

ART. VII.—THE PROSPECTS OF CANADIAN CONFEDERATION.

THE Confederation of the scattered Provinces of British North America was a bold, although it must be confessed a somewhat hazardous experiment in the art of statecraft. On the side of novelty it had nothing whatever to commend it, but on other grounds there was much to be said on its behalf. Possibly the best argument in its favour was that it afforded immediate relief from dangers which threatened to check permanently, or if not permanently, at all events to retard to an almost indefinite extent the development of the group of colonies which constituted the immense surface area called 'British North America.' It is just possible that the dangers which threatened, or were supposed to threaten, the youthful Colonies may have been, and we incline to the opinion that they were, purposely exaggerated in order to hasten the accomplishment of a scheme which an influential body of Canadian public men had set themselves to work out. But whether the dangers of the situation were altogether real dangers

or partly real and partly imaginary is a problem for the historian to solve; it is sufficient for our purpose to know that grave fears were expressed in reference to the state of matters as they stood in the days immediately preceding Confederation. It will therefore be a proper subject for inquiry, if we examine a few, and only a few of the reasons advanced for the grave changes which the Scheme of Confederation unquestionably involved.

To put the matter in other words—Was Confederation, as it presented itself to the so-called statesmen of 1865, merely a plausible theory of government, or was it an orderly constitutional development rendered imperative by conditions existing at the time? If the latter, it carries within it the elements of its own stability, but if the former, it will disappear with the special pleadings which gave it birth.

The far reaching consequences of the changes introduced by Confederation would not constitute the scheme itself a great effort of statesmanship, nor lead the future historian to mistake the temporary adjustment of local difficulties for the comprehensive wisdom that gives birth to empire. We may be well assured, however, that the future will take care of itself and mete out with just precision whatever praise 'the fathers of Confederation,' are fairly entitled to receive. Our own conviction is that their work is beginning to dwarf already, and that the fictitious reputations created by Confederation will disappear the moment the work itself is subjected to dispassionate criticism. If upon investigation it should turn out that the politicians were guided in the main by the temporary and the exigent, and that little or no attention was paid to the wider generalizations of practical statesmanship, it follows inevitably that the sooner the work of reconstruction begins the better. But in the first place it will be well to look at the spirit in which the promoters of Confederation approached the double task of reconciling conflicting interests and of formulating a constitution at once monarchical and republican. It will of course be said that failure was almost inevitable, that even comparative success was hardly possible, and that, everything considered, we have got more for our penny than we had any good reason to expect. These and like questions are fairly open to discussion. The Hon. Sir E. P. Tache declared in 1865 that 'legislation in Canada

for the last two years had come almost to a standstill, and if any one would refer to the Statute Book since 1862, he would find that the only public measures there inscribed had been passed simply by the permission of the Opposition. This was the condition of things for two years, and if this were an evil, there was another not less to be deplored; he referred to the administration of public affairs during the same period. From the 21st May, 1862 to the end of June, 1864, there had been no less than five different Governments in charge of the business of the country.' Of course, we have no difficulty in recognising how unbearable such a state of things must have become, and how readily any measure promising relief would be accepted, and particularly by men beginning to feel the pulsations of a new life, and a reaching after a greater measure of political freedom than they had ever yet enjoyed. This was the 'exigent' under whose pressure the whole scheme of Confederation was nurtured and brought to maturity. But there were other causes operating powerfully in the same direction; and the most influential of all was the American Civil War, through which for the moment Canadian statesmen viewed Americans and their institutions. This fact comes out so strongly in all the public utterances of the period that there is no resisting the conviction that Confederation gave angry emphasis to the antagonism felt towards the general principle of Republican or Democratic Government. The Confederation debates are full of righteous indignation against 'Democracy' in all its moods and tenses, and specifically, a lifting up of holy hands against the Government of the United States. Even the liberal minded and much lamented D'Arcy M'Gee permitted himself to be carried away by the claptrap of the day, and did not hesitate to declare that 'there has always been a desire among them (United States) for the acquisition of new territory and the inexorable law of Democratic existence seems to be its absorption. They coveted Florida and seized it; they coveted Louisiana and purchased it; they coveted Texas and stole it; and then they picked a quarrel with Mexico which ended by their getting California.' Surely language like this was utterly beneath the dignity of the occasion, and yet it must be admitted that M'Gee showed a deeper insight into the proposal than most of his colleagues. The movement

from first to last proceeded under an ever present dread of the Democracy of the United States and the appalling calamities likely to overtake the colonies, if they did not hastily construct a barrier sufficiently strong to frustrate all the attempts of the enemy against them. Confederation was the result. Sir. E. P. Tache, 'thought that the Confederation of the Provinces had become an absolute necessity and that it was a question of to be or not to be. If we desired to remain British and monarchical, and if we desired to pass to our children these advantages, this measure, he repeated, was a necessity.' This puts the case in a very strong light and the weight of the argument turns upon the preservation of a particular form of Government, namely, 'the Monarchical' which the Canadian politicians—French and English declared to be absolutely necessary for all time. If in the future it did not work satisfactorily into the varying conditions of Canadian life, then the business of Canadian statesmen was to shape their country's policy so as to harmonize with monarchical and imperial interests. All this is curious in the light of recent events.

But the master spirit on the French Canadian side was Sir George Cartier, and it will not be out of place to quote part of an early speech which he made on the subject of Confederation. If we assume that Sir George represented any higher interest than himself and his political colleagues, we recognise an impassable gulf between the French Canadian of to-day and the French Canadian of Confederation times:—

'We found ourselves at the present day,' said Sir George Cartier, 'discussing the Federation of the British North American Provinces, while the Great Federation of the United States of America was broken up and divided against itself. There was, however, this important difference to be observed in considering the action of the two peoples. The Americans had founded Federation for the purpose of carrying out and perpetuating Democracy on this Continent, but we who had the benefit of being able to contemplate Republicanism in action during a period of eighty years saw its defects and felt convinced that purely Democratic institutions could not be conducive to the peace and prosperity of Nations.'

We have italicised the last part of the quotation for the purpose of saying that it was the political sagacity which made this astounding declaration, that gave premature birth to 'Confedera-

tion.' Sir George Cartier staked his political reputation on this speech, and we make free to say that its obvious crudeness, its imperfect grasp of the elementary laws of political being, and its general weakness leave little doubt that however excellent a lawyer Sir George Cartier may have been, he was certainly not a great statesman.

'We are not now,' he continues, 'discussing the great problem presented to our consideration, in order to propagate Democratic principles. Our attempt was for the purpose of forming a Federation with a view of perpetuating 'the monarchical element.' The distinction, therefore, between ourselves and our neighbours was just this :—In our Federation the monarchical principle would form the leading feature, while on the other side of the lines, judging by the past history and present condition of the country, the ruling power was the will of the mob—the rule of the populace. Every person who had conversed with the most intelligent American statesmen and writers must have learned that they all admitted that the governmental power had become too extended, owing to the introduction of universal suffrage, and mob rule had consequently supplanted legitimate authority.'

The above extracts will be sufficient to shew the spirit that animated those who sought Confederation, as well as the folly of supposing that a scheme begotten of principles so utterly at variance with the spirit of the age and the obvious destinies of the people of this continent, could hope to survive for any considerable time. For a few years Canadian Confederation was pointed to as the perfection of modern statesmanship, and even yet it has its worshippers, but they are diminishing year by year, and now that its palpable defects are beginning to make themselves uncomfortably felt in our political existence, the more thoughtful are venturing to question the oracle as to the future of the country. The undoubted prosperity that has marked Canada for the past quarter of a century, and upwards, is not the product of Confederation, and it is foolish to attribute it to any such cause. If we desire to see how completely Confederation has failed to realize the views of its promoters we have only to turn to the extracts just made from the speeches of such representative men as Sir E. P. Tache, Sir George Cartier, and Mr. M'Gee. To their minds, manifestly, the most important argument in favour of Confederation was derived from the fact that

it would serve—at least so they thought, for all future generations as a secure lodgment for ‘the monarchical element’ in our system of government. It will possibly be said that their shortsightedness in this respect was little less than phenomenal, but after all it is not so very surprising when we have regard to the way in which they viewed the facts of American history and the political tendencies of this continent generally. But as we do not pretend to charge the prosperity of Canada to Confederation, neither do we venture to allege that Confederation is entirely or even largely responsible for the disappearance of ‘the monarchical element,’ out of our national life, but we may say that it was hidden away so carefully that we have seen very little of it since Confederation, and Canada is to-day essentially Democratic and each succeeding generation of Canadians is becoming, if possible, more so. ‘The monarchical element’ is dead, and this in itself is a sufficient commentary on the tentative character of Confederation as well as an emphatic condemnation of the folly of those who imagined it to be a permanent settlement. There was, indeed, very little to warrant such an opinion on the part of anybody and nothing whatever to justify an intelligent man, or body of men in believing it. Twenty years, or less of national life in these days is equivalent to a century or more of the past, and the experience we have derived from ‘Canada during Confederation’ must prove eminently instructive to those who shall be intrusted with her future destinies. We have only to glance at a map of this great country—and she is unquestionably *great*—to see the utter impossibility of accomplishing what Confederation promised. British Columbia is separated from her sister Provinces by a forest of mountains and a dreary waste of ocean prairie. The mountain and the prairie may be as full of promise and of poetry as the land speculator and railway manager declare them to be, but all the same, existing facts will not be seriously altered, and these do not point to any real community of interest between the dwellers on the Pacific slope and the inhabitants of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Nor is the state of matters very different in the Maritime Provinces where the mutterings of discontent are deep and continuous. The people of these Provinces have been shut

out from their natural market in the United States, while none of equal promise has been opened to them elsewhere: they will possibly submit to this state of things for a little, but it can hardly be for long. The conservation of 'the monarchical element' is of infinitely less importance to the average citizen than the conservation of business, and the first serious business depression in the Maritime Provinces will be the signal for a general political house cleaning. New Brunswick and Nova Scotia will, in all probability, be the first to secede formally from a union that was never accepted very cordially, and which nobody at the present would raise a finger to preserve. If the conservation of 'the monarchical element' was the chief object of Confederation, and according to Sir George Cartier that was really the paramount consideration, it has failed along the whole line, and nothing remains but to give Confederation quiet interment. Some imaginative politicians are labouring to convince the people of Canada that a huge monopoly in the shape of a railway running through an uninhabited wilderness is likely to prove a great financial success; in fact, that it is only second to a high protective tariff in securing national greatness. Both the monopoly and the tariff press upon the vital energies of Manitoba and the North West, handicapping the unfortunate settler in all directions, causing him to think little and care less about 'the monarchical element' and a great deal about the possibility of feeding himself and family, and at the same time driving him to a bitter contemplation of the shameless deception practised upon him, in bringing him to a land, not primarily for his own good, but for the good of a grasping railway monopoly. The power of this heartless monopoly governs the whole area from the boundaries of Ontario to the Rocky Mountains; and the people are, as a consequence, wincing under the intolerable burden. As the iron of 'protection' and 'monopoly' enters their souls they cease to be enthusiastic about 'Confederation' and the preservation of the 'monarchical element.' Hence, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific 'Confederation' is condemned by every interest and threatened by every settler.

But after all has been said, we must look to the two high contracting parties—Ontario and Quebec—that have given the

experiment a fair trial, and if we exclude the valueless opinions of party politicians, party journalists, office-holders and office-seekers, public opinion in both Provinces has, with a greater or less distinctness, declared against Confederation.

Recent events have materially aided to put matters in their true light before both nationalities—French and English—and to convince the most sanguine that the dream of a homogeneous nation on Canadian soil is fatuous in a high degree. They are wider apart to-day in sympathy, in national aspiration, and in purpose, than they ever were before. The English charge the failure against the French, and the French throw back the taunt with interest. It is not, fortunately for the peace of the country, a question between individuals—for kindly intercourse among individuals of both nationalities continues without any interruption—but it is the deeper struggle for sovereign authority; and when the contest reaches that stage, it is as certain as noon-day that the sovereignty will not rest upon the brow of the Frenchman. Within the Province of Quebec he has gradually succeeded in driving the English-speaking element to the wall. Hundreds of English settlements have disappeared all over the Province, and the people who remain have no desire so strong as to get away. In the Provincial Government of Quebec the French hold with desperate tenacity every office from doorkeeper to Lieutenant-Governor, and they are steadily advancing their forces upon the Federal Government itself. Their success in Quebec has emboldened them, and the non-resistance of a handful of English in that Province has been interpreted as the non-resistance of the English in the Dominion. But it so happens that a very watchful eye has always been kept by the English upon the movements of the French of Lower Canada, and what they have seen has not tended to inspire confidence. From year to year the French Canadians have been steadily drifting away from their English allies in Confederation, and leaving the latter to preserve the Tache-Cartier heritages of ‘the monarchical element.’ The French Canadian is in pursuit, it is true, of a veritable *ignis fatuus*, so far as old France is concerned; but all the same, he pursues it regardless alike of the facts of history and his own position in relation to the fifty millions of English-

speaking people on this Continent. The French Canadian is labouring under the delirium of an ephemeral and local success, and he has been so long accustomed to quiet acquiescence on the part of the English that he has assumed the rôle of dictator; and this, as much as anything else, has shown the weakness of Confederation and the utter impossibility of continuing the present arrangement. Not a few of the French Canadian papers fully realise the gravity of the situation, and they speak with moderation and dignity. *La Presse* says—

‘We need only, unfortunately, mention the fact that the two races in this Province do not march together in a sympathetic manner, and it is a fact which we state with regret from the point of our material interests, the only ones which we have to consider in this journal. The two races are not necessarily opposed the one to the other, as is proved by the amicable way in which they live side by side in other portions of Canada and the United States, but they do not easily combine.’

Other papers are more outspoken. *L'Etendard*, for example, declares that

‘Anglo-Protestant fanaticism, its hatred against everything French and Catholic, above all, its well-defined resolution to continue its persecution against our element, to destroy it if necessary, or at least prevent our expansion, paralyze our natural action, and refuse us our legitimate share in public affairs and participation in the natural advantages accruing from the development of our territory—all this has not, we believe, much increased during the last six months.

‘We were as much hated, our national movement was as zealously impeded, everything French-Canadian and Catholic was as resolutely fought against last year as since last March.’

How much *L'Etendard* cares for Confederation may be inferred from its treatment of the Volunteers who went out to fight against Riel. It calls them

‘The heroes who crushed the Rebellion, and the barbarians who stole from defenceless women and children their sole means of buying bread, who everywhere brandished the incendiary's torch, who even basely assassinated the dying on the battlefield, who robbed the dead and shamefully profaned their corpses; all this horde of criminals will not only enjoy impunity, but will be mixed up with honest men and brave men, and receive lands and decorations !

Well ! let us be practical once for all ! Let us cease our wordy war to

inaugurate a loyal but firm resistance to our English speaking fellow-citizens, a struggle of energetic and, if need be, implacable resistance upon our rights.

Let us exact our full rights quietly but determinedly. Let us draw up an exact and rational statement of the same to serve as the basis of our demands. Let us make a just calculation of what belongs to us, and insist severely upon it, remembering that this is the only means of obtaining peace with our English fellow-citizens.

For with them perhaps more than with any others it is necessary to proceed with rigorous and mathematical exactitude—*les bons comptes font les bons amis!*

The great province of Ontario with its magnificent future, its wealth of enterprise and its progressive Protestant population, has grown heartily sick of the French Alliance, and its opinion on the whole question may be summed up in the words of the *Toronto Week*, a journal remarkable for its literary ability, its perfect independence and its thorough impartiality in dealing with public questions. 'Had the British conqueror,' says the *Week*, 'used the extreme rights of conquest, the number of French colonists being then so small, the French language might have been suppressed and Quebec might have been turned into a British province. Had the British race on this continent remained united, the same result might have been brought about in a milder way by the assimilating forces of the great mass acting upon a small element of alien population in the midst of it. But an end was put to this possibility by the unhappy schism in the race which followed the American Revolution. Perhaps when the union of the two provinces was recommended by Lord Durham, the hope of Anglicizing the French had not been entirely resigned; now, however, it is totally extinct. We need not say a harsh word or admit an unkind thought with regard to our French partners in Confederation; their character, their religion, their tastes and habits, their objects of pursuit, differ from ours as do their origin and language, but are not on that account to be disparaged. If they are less progressive than we are, and have a lower standard of material well-being perhaps they are not less happy. . . The representatives of British Canada and New France may sit in the same Parliament, but they will act in different interest as we have already too good reason to know. Fusion is out of the question; it becomes more hopeless every hour. . . . Could

the statesmen of 1838 have forseen the course of events, they would scarcely have proposed wedlock in which there could be no real union. For us Confederation means, and is likely more and more to mean, subjection to the solid vote of Quebec. Quarrel with the French-Canadians it is to be hoped we never shall; but it is quite possible that on both sides the conviction may some day prevail that it is best to part in peace.' This is a temperate indictment on the part of Ontario against Confederation, in the interests of which, she, more than all the other Provinces, has made the heaviest sacrifices. On all sides therefore Confederation is declared to be a failure, and its final collapse cannot be much longer delayed. It is better on the whole that each Province should go quietly on its way and be permitted to work out for itself a destiny unhampered by an alliance which is at once a weakness and a menace. Ontario gains nothing by the existing arrangement and she has much to lose by its continuance. 'The happy family' will be heartily glad to be rid of each other and have freedom to follow their manifest destiny or to delay it for a season. The question of National Independence is one of ever-increasing importance with us, and without venturing any confident opinion on the subject, it is certainly deserving of respectful consideration. The grand army of office-seekers and office-holders will protest strongly against any change, and in this they will be backed by the titled anachronisms of Canadian public life. But the change is coming surely and not slowly, and the march of events may precipitate it sooner than most people imagine.

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ART. VIII.—IMPERIAL FEDERATION FROM A
CANADIAN POINT OF VIEW.

PART II.

1. *The Irish Parliament of 1782.* By HENRY JEPHSON. *The Nineteenth Century.* June, 1885.

2. *Public Business in the House of Commons.* By HENRY H. FOWLER, M.P. *The Nineteenth Century.* July 1885.
3. *The Burden of Ireland.* By J. LESLIE FIELD. *The Nineteenth Century.* August, 1885.
4. *The Radical Programme for Ireland.* By EDWARD WILLIAM O'BRIEN. *The Nineteenth Century.* September, 1885.
5. *Irish Wrongs and English Remedies; A Statement of Facts.* By R. BARRY O'BRIEN. *The Nineteenth Century.* November. 1885.
6. *Royalty and Vice-Royalty in Ireland:*
 - I. *The Irish Vice-Royalty.* By HENRY JEPHSON.
 - II. *A New Era for Ireland.* By R. O'HARA. *The Fortnightly Review*, for April, 1885.
7. *The Parnelite Programme.* By RICHARD PIGOTT. *The Fortnightly Review.* June, 1885.
8. *Local Government in Ireland.* *The Fortnightly Review.* July, 1885.
9. *Ireland, and the General Election.* By S. LAING, M.P. *The Fortnightly Review.* November, 1885.
10. *The Irish Problem:*
 - I. *Home Rule and its Solution.* By LORD CASTLETOWN.
 - II. *Irish Disaffection: its Causes, and its Cure.* By W. RATHBONE. *The Fortnightly Review.* December, 1885.
11. *Dublin Castle.* By JUSTIN M'CARTHY, M.P. *The Contemporary Review.* February, 1885.

THE advocates of Imperial Federation have been asked to produce a scheme. This demand seems reasonable, and yet—paradoxical, as it may appear—their inability, or backwardness in meeting it, is also reasonable. The truth evidently is this. Some scheme must be adopted, but the time has not arrived for its promulgation. The numerous expressions of opinion which the formation of the League has evoked, clearly indicate that Imperial Federation must come, sooner or later, and much good has been effected by drawing public attention to its importance. There is a conspicuous consensus of opinion that the British Empire must not be allowed to decrease in

area, and all thoughtful men very clearly see that as expansion goes on—or even if its limits remain as they are, the scattered parts must be knit into one whole. The policy of Britain has, thus far, been one of disintegration. Doubtless this has never been intended, but without the check which nothing but Federation can possibly impose, the various parts of the Empire will not be nursed into strength, and so soon as any one section may fancy itself strong enough to stand alone, or so soon as it sees its way to benefit itself by alliance with, or absorption by another power, it will sever its connection with Britain. What has been the effect—what is now the effect of the Imperial policy? Take Canada as an example—Britain fought for and wrested her possessions in what is now known as British North America from France. She spent much blood, and great treasure in the acquisition. What she took was really France *in petto*. There were no Anglo-Saxons in the country, no Protestantism, no English law. Britain, generously, some now think, unwisely, guaranteed to the French their language, their religion, and their laws. As time went on the Anglo-Saxon filled up the country. These made the usual demand of the race. At first a Crown Colony, Canada gradually, and irresistibly grew into a constitutionally governed possession. It was divided into provinces, each endowed with all the appliances of a *quasi* independent *appanage* of the British Crown. They grew in population and wealth. Britain nursed them with all the care of an indulgent mother. She built fortifications at strategical points—supplied them with guns from Imperial arsenals, and garrisons from Imperial regiments. She defended them in war, and petted them in peace. She gave them power to govern themselves as they listed, reserving to herself only the right to interfere when Imperial interests became involved. She granted the very unwonted power of imposing such duties as they pleased on foreign goods, her own included. She invited their statesmen to sit by her when settling the terms of treaties with other nations, wherever Canadian interests were concerned. She gave to Canada the millions paid by the Americans for the use of Canadian Fisheries—and Canada now

stands, possessing all, or very nearly all—practically all, the rights of an independent Sovereignty, living under the *ægis* of British power; defended by Imperial forces, naval and military, and at the cost solely of the Imperial Treasury. Am I not right therefore, in saying that Britain nursed Canada, that she has spent blood and treasure on her, that she has taught her how to govern herself, and now, when with a population of five millions, with a marine the fourth in tonnage in the world, with a well-organized militia of 50,000 trained soldiers, with a revenue of \$70,000,000, what power has Britain retained within her grasp, by which she can coerce Canada into remaining under her flag? None, absolutely none. She has given her all she can give. She has nothing more to give. In case Canada expressed a desire to be relieved for all connection with Britain with what gift could she be tempted to remain? Britain has exhausted her whole store of benefits; she has not a single indulgence left. Her only means of keeping Canada under her control would be coercion; but coercion would mean war—for Canada has too much of John Bull's blood in her veins to submit to coercion. Is Britain prepared to go to war in order to retain the Dominion, for war with Canada, would mean war with the United States? Certainly not. Will Britain ever go to war with Canada for the purpose of keeping her in subjection. Just as certainly—No. In what position then has British policy placed Canada? This, she has nursed, educated, clothed, enriched, and armed a young but powerful people, who, at any moment may leave her without a shilling by way of compensation for past benefits, without the parade of a soldier, or a threat, or a remonstrance even; for no one, nor all of these would be of the slightest avail against a vote of the Dominion House of Commons. But Britain is pursuing the very same policy in her dealings with her numerous other possessions. She persists in the system of disintegration. The Empire is daily advancing to a breaking up. Instead of adopting a policy of cohesion, Britain still pursues the ruinous policy of disintegration. She is nursing Australasia, New Zealand, South Africa, and her other colonies precisely as she has nursed Canada, and these must ultimately

reach the same position as that now occupied by the Dominion. God forbid, that the logical results of this policy shall ever be seen—for every loyal man in whom a drop of British blood is found, would deplore such an ending; but the prevention of so dire a calamity can be secured in only one way, and that way is Federation.

Canada, however, is subject to conditions under which the British Possessions in the South Pacific Ocean, and in Africa, do not lie. The geographical position of the Dominion forms a strong bond of union with Britain. Her Southern boundary is a line of four thousand miles in length, conterminous throughout its whole extent with an independent and strong Power. Canada well understands that if set loose from Britain she would be absorbed by her powerful neighbour. Even were the Mother Country to grant her perfect freedom, she might set herself up as an independent Power, but she would remain so just as long, and no longer, than the United States might permit, for she would be unable for a single day to resist the overwhelming strength of the great Republic. We therefore have this fact constantly before us, that separation from Britain means absorption by our American neighbours; and it is this fact which will always exert a repressing effect on any desire to be free from British rule. Canada is emphatically loyal. Loyalty to the Queen is almost a passion with Canadians, and our loyalty is the natural offspring of two circumstances—gratitude for the unlimited confidence reposed in us by Britain, and her generous treatment of us in political and fiscal matters, and—what doubtless is of much greater influence—the conviction that our interests will best be furthered by keeping up our connection with Britain. The Australian Colonies, South Africa, and Ireland* occupy a very different position. They are not placed geographically near any powerful neighbour into whose arms they would fall were they to be granted full independence; and they therefore will never feel that independence would be to them, what it assuredly would be to

* I am writing these lines on January 9, and I include Ireland with the perfect conviction that Ireland will not long hence receive a Constitution as free and independent as that of Canada.

Canada, absorption by a foreign Power. The bond which ties us to Britain does not exist as to them, and therefore it is, that it will be of grave importance that in dealing with these possessions Britain should reserve a power under whose influence they would be impelled to assent to Imperial Federation on reasonable terms. She should not act by them as she has acted by Canada. She should reserve some gift—keep back some benefit—impose some restriction—and retain in her grasp some influence by which she may, when the proper time arrives, draw these parts of the Empire into Federation.

There are forces now at work which will lead to the evolution of Federation. It is not probable that any one is now prepared to elaborate a plan of Imperial Federation. So huge and complicated a piece of machinery cannot be constructed at once. It must be the growth of years, but that it may be constructed at all, it is essential that the attention of statesmen be henceforth constantly engaged on it—that their policy be so shaped as to work up to it—that the political and particularly the fiscal relations of the Imperial Government with the various Colonial Possessions be regulated with a view to ultimate Federation, and that the public mind, both of Britain, and of the Possessions, be informed, and trained to look upon this as a final object to be secured. Among these forces I propose to speak of the following:—

I. The congested state of the business of the House of Commons must be relieved. This will probably be done by a scheme of Imperial Federation, in which there will be an Imperial House of Commons dealing only with Imperial matters, composed of members representing Britain and the various Colonies—leaving the local legislation of England, Wales, and Scotland, to Local Legislatures.

II. The establishment of Municipal Councils with extensive jurisdiction.

III. The Confederation of the Australasian Colonies now in progress and in part consummated will facilitate Imperial Federation since it will enable the Imperial Authorities to deal with a large concrete mass, instead of a number of small and possibly antagonistic Sections.

IV. The Confederation of the South African Possessions—probably a more difficult and remote achievement—will prove another strong incentive to Imperial Federation.

V. The settlement of the Irish Question, which must in the nature of things be the granting to Ireland of a Constitution as liberal as that now possessed by Canada, will render Imperial Federation an absolute necessity; and the statesmen who may immortalize themselves by such a settlement of the Irish difficulties, must see to it that they do not grant the Canadian Constitutions to Ireland without stipulating for her entry into Imperial Federation.

I propose to discuss these five matters in their order. I have before me an analytical index to the Imperial Statutes passed during 1884. It will probably surprise my British readers to hear that the 'Public General Statutes' passed during that year numbered only seventy-eight, while those called 'Social and Private Acts' numbered two hundred and fifty-one. To the Canadian this reads as follows: Britain requires a House of Commons consisting of 670 members, and a House of Lords composed of 540 members to pass two hundred and fifty-one Acts, every one of which would, in Canada, have been disposed of by the Houses of Assembly of the various Provinces—and not one of which would have come within the jurisdiction of the House of Commons and the Senate—the central authorities of the Dominion—at Ottawa. Under our system, these central legislative bodies would have dealt only with the seventy-eight 'Public General Statutes.' I find that the two hundred and fifty-one 'Social and Private Acts' are divided into nineteen classes, and here they are:—

<i>Class.</i>	<i>Acts.</i>
1—Bridges and Ferries, - - - - -	5
2—Canals, Rivers, Navigations, Tunnels, and Subways, - -	7
3—Charitable Foundations and Institutions, - - - -	2
4—Drainages and Drainage Embankments, - - - -	7
5—Ecclesiastical Affairs, including Tithes, - - - -	5
6—Estates, - - - - -	5
7—Fisheries, - - - - -	2
8—Gaslight Companies, - - - - -	7
	<hr/>
	Forward, 40

	Brought forward,	40
9—Harbours, Docks, Ports, Piers, Quays, - - - - -		18
10—Improvements in Towns, Municipal and County and Local Government Matters, Markets, &c., - - - - -		38
11—Inclosures of Commons, - - - - -		3
12—Parish Affairs, - - - - -		1
13—Personal Affairs, - - - - -		3
14—Railways, - - - - -		86
15—Trading and other Companies, - - - - -		15
16—Tramways, - - - - -		16
17—Turnpike and other roads, - - - - -		3
18—Water Companies, - - - - -		12
19—Provisional Orders Confirmation, - - - - -		16
		<hr/> 251

Now why should the time and attention of an Imperial House of Commons be consumed in legislating on matters so purely local, municipal, and personal as the subjects designated in this list? English magazines, British journals, and the British people cry out against the enormous length of the Sessions of the House, and deplore the great amount of important business left unfinished, and often untouched, at the end of each tedious and weary Session. And they cannot use language sufficiently strong in denouncing the Parnellite system of obstruction which renders tediousness still more tedious, and slow and inefficient legislation still more slow and inefficient. Do they not see that if only the 78 measures had to be dealt with, the Sessions would be very much shorter? In Canada, all the local legislation is performed in the Provincial Houses of Assembly—they are not dignified by the name of 'Parliaments. Parliament—that is, the legislative power of the whole Dominion, consisting of the House of Commons, Senate, and the Governor-General—has no power to deal with these local matters, its attention being, by the Constitution of the Dominion—the Imperial Statute cited as 'The British North America Act, 1867'—exclusively given to matters which affect the whole Dominion, and which in Britain will be styled 'Imperial.'

To a Canadian, accustomed to this simple, sensible, cheap, and effective machinery, the cumbrous, expensive, and ineffective system of Britain seems an anomaly unworthy of a practical

people. It is well to be conservative, but it is folly to cling to an old machine when a new and much better one is within our reach. The truth is, the House of Commons has become unwieldy, and the British people must very soon change the whole system. This can readily be effected, simply by adopting the Canadian machinery. Give England, Scotland, and Wales each a local House of Assembly charged with the duty of legislating on the local matters indicated by the list I have just supplied, and form an Imperial House, small in numbers, whose duty it will be to take cognisance only of Imperial subjects. And it is at this point that the question of Imperial Federation may be favourably considered. In this Imperial House the Colonies might be represented. I cannot, of course, speak of any of these other than Canada, and I am quite certain I express the consensus of Canadian opinion when I say that no representation in the British House of Commons, as now constituted, would be satisfactory to Canada. She would be lost in the immense gathering of so numerous and discordant elements. The representatives of the Colonies would take not the slightest interest in any one of the 251 Bills to which I have referred; and even if they did, it would not be proper that they should interfere with them. But in a small Imperial House, whose jurisdiction would be confined to purely Imperial matters, the Colonist would find a fitting place, and the Imperial Government be more perfectly equipped to render instant, loyal, and valuable assistance. I do not advert to the distance between London and the various Possessions which would under this scheme send representatives to the Imperial House, for steam has literally destroyed distance. That the congested state of business in the British Commons will compel some division of labour such as I have indicated, no one doubts, and this is one of the forces working up towards Imperial Federation.

On the supposition that the Irish question will soon be settled by giving Ireland a Constitution framed on the lines of our Dominion system, the Irish element in the House of Commons, which has been the cause of so much trouble will be completely eliminated, since Ireland will be represented

only in the proposed Imperial House, to which the other Colonies as well will send their members. To those who believe that the late conduct of the Irish members in the Commons is the natural outcome of the Irish character, any scheme which will withdraw them from the House of Commons will be acceptable. For myself I have a much higher opinion of the Irishman. Give him justice, and he will be as amenable to rule as the English, or the Scotch man. The extraordinary pertinacity with which he has lately trammelled the progress of the business of the House is merely one of the modes, to which British injustice has driven him, of obtaining his rights. But be this, as it may, it is obvious that under the plan proposed the Irish element would find no place in any Chamber out of Ireland excepting the Imperial one, where none but Imperial matters would be discussed.

The next force is the growing demand for extensive Municipal powers in Britain.

Canada, has enjoyed the unmixed blessings of Municipal Government for over forty years. Up to 1841, the Provinces now known as 'Quebec,' and 'Ontario,' were governed, so far as a few minor municipal matters were concerned, by the Magistrates of each district, sitting in Quarter Sessions. Mr. Poulett Thompson, afterwards Lord Sydenham, brought from England, when he came over as Governor of Canada, then composed of the two Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, now Quebec, and Ontario, the draft of a Bill for creating Municipal Councils in each district. This Bill became law, and thus we became indebted to an English Statesman, for the for the most valuable Act ever passed by a Canadian Legislature. The great principle that the people who pay the taxes should have the expenditure of them is carried out in its utmost integrity by this system. All local wants are settled in the county, or city, or town, or village, or township council, composed of resident representatives. Each of these forms a distinct and independent municipality, and taxes are imposed to meet the special wants settled upon. When collected, they are expended under the immediate directions of the Council, and thus the people have absolute control over their own

monies. The system has worked admirably, municipal powers have been from time to time greatly extended, and the people are grateful. If money has been injudiciously raised, or wastefully expended, they have none but themselves to blame. One great benefit conferred on the community at large is this, that these councils become schools where men are trained in debate, in the management of public funds and property, and in parliamentary usage. Their knowledge is enlarged, their aspirations are satisfied, and they become a highly enlightened class of people, to the great benefit of the whole country. It surprises Canadians to find that while they are indebted for this grand system to an Englishman—a system under which we have been flourishing for nearly half a century—his own countrymen are but now seriously discussing the expediency of introducing it in a large sense among themselves. That Britain will ere long be richly endowed with municipal governments cannot be doubted, and when the masses have come to form a proper idea of the inestimable blessings they are calculated to confer—when they see a multitude of matters now dealt with by the Imperial Parliament, relegated, some to County Assemblies or County Boards, and others to Municipal Councils—when the popular mind becomes familiar with governing itself in this larger sense, then will it become more open to the idea of allowing the various sections of the enormous Empire of Britain to govern themselves as to local matters, and to be governed as to Imperial concerns by their representatives in an Imperial Parliament. All these sub-divisions of power are eminently calculated to foster a spirit of self-reliance among the people, and a feeling of contentment with their surroundings, whether these be political, religious, or social. A man who feels that he is a power in his village, or parish, or town, will not care to interfere with the Government of a Province, or an Empire, except in a very general way. Under a system of County Boards, Provincial Assemblies, and an Imperial House, crowned by Imperial Federation, Britain will become knit into one grand whole, which will be able to defy the world in arms.

The next force I propose to speak of is the Confederation of

the Australasian Possessions. This movement is going forward slowly perhaps, but surely. That five of the seven Colonies have arrived at an agreement for union is proof that there has been no very serious difficulty to overcome, and doubtless time will open up a mode by which the non-assenting two may yet enter the Confederacy. Imperial Federation must be preceded by Colonial union. It would have been almost impossible to satisfy the demand of the several Provinces now constituting the Canadian Dominion if the attempt to bring them into Imperial Federation had been made before their own Confederation; but now, that the whole of British North America, with the unimportant exception of Newfoundland is under one Government, the difficulties surrounding a scheme by which Canada is to be brought into an Imperial Confederacy have been reduced to a minimum. It would have been unwise to attempt Imperial Federation with the Australian Colonies while they were disjointed and to some extent antagonistic to each other. But the great principle of union has done its work to a considerable extent, and time will almost necessarily evolve the determination to consummate union by its highest type, that of Imperial union, or in other words, Imperial Federation. Probably the next step of the new Confederacy will be to establish satisfactory fiscal relations with itain.

It is imagined in some quarters that the tariff question will be the rock on which all schemes of Imperial Federation will founder—but where all parties are sincerely desirous of arriving at a *modus vivendi* no insuperable difficulty will be found. ‘But,’ it may be said ‘what evidence have you that all, or any of the Colonies do now, or ever will, sincerely desire Imperial Federation?’ My answer is this: If Britain cannot make it for the interest of the Colonies to join in the scheme, it will be hopeless to attempt to carry it out. The sentiment, or even the passion, if you will, of loyalty to the Crown, though strong, will not overcome self-interest. That Britain has the power now to make it the interest of the Australasians to enter into a compact for Imperial Federation, there is no doubt; that she will always possess this power will depend very much on the precautions her Statesmen take

in settling the terms of the Colonial Confederacy. This is a very serious matter, and unless it be dealt with by a British Ministry thoroughly imbued with the paramount importance of drawing the Colonies into Imperial Federation, disaster of the most lamentable nature must ensue. As I have already intimated, Canada can be more easily managed than Australasia, and therefore it is, that the present movements in that part of the world should be narrowly watched by the British Government. Watched, not for the purpose of checking, but of guiding the growth of that desire for a higher position among the peoples of the world, which stimulates every man, and especially every member of the Anglo-Saxon race. To many the tariff difficulty has appeared an almost unsurmountable impediment in the way of Imperial Federation, and the divergent interests of the Australian Colonies, the South African, the West Indian and the Canadian Possessions, each acting on Britain and on each other, and Britain conversely acting on all, have seemingly created so confused a picture that many thinkers have not been able to produce order, out of what appeared chaos. The subject is a vast one, but its vastness furnishes no reason why it should not be discussed, nor why a solution of its difficulties should not be sought and found. The article 'Give and take with the Colonies' by Mr. Bowles in the May number of the *Fortnightly Review*, lays down, to my mind, the true lines of action—and the veering round of British opinion on the subjects of Free-trade and Protection proves that British intelligence is always equal to an emergency. The people of the British Isles after a thorough and patient trial are beginning to discover that cast-iron rules do not suit trade questions. Free-trade, or rather the one-sided trade humourously called Free-trade by its British admirers, may have done well for a time, and under peculiar circumstances, but the utter fatuity of clinging to it after its usefulness has departed is now dawning on the British mind, and John Bull's good sense will certainly bring about a change in his trade policy, which the economical changes in his trade relations have rendered imperative. All this is working up to Imperial Federation,

and the excellent Article by Mr. Bowles clearly and powerfully points out the path by which Britain may increase the profits of her own trade, and at the same time materially benefit her Colonies, and thus enable her to offer them solid advantages through Federation.

The Confederation of the South African possessions of Britain is another force which will exert much influence on Imperial Federation. The initial steps taken some years ago by the Imperial Government to bring about this event, failed. The failure was the result, not of any inherent defect in the general policy of the scheme, but of the then unfavourable condition of the local affairs of South Africa. The country proved to be not quite ripe for the measure, and it was prudently withdrawn. The shocking mismanagement of this portion of the Colonies under the Gladstone *regime* has probably rendered Confederation more difficult now than it was before the baneful influence of the Gladstonian foreign policy fell on this section of the British possessions. But under a healthy and vigorous rule—one suggested and loyally supported by a British Prime Minister who can rise—as Mr. Gladstone cannot—to the Imperial idea of governing the British Empire on Imperial and not on parochial lines, the Confederation of the South African Colonies would not long be delayed. It is perhaps fortunate that Confederation, either in the Australasian possessions, or in South Africa, has not yet been finally consummated—because the subject of Imperial Federation not being yet exhaustively discussed, the supreme importance of embodying in the measures by which Confederation will be finally settled, stipulations binding the confederated Colonies to Imperial Federation has not been, I think, fully realised. As I have already intimated Canada can be more easily led into Imperial Federation than Australasia; and I may now add, than South Africa—because Canada cannot be independent, while Australasia and South Africa might be able to stand alone—Canada, if not a part of the British Empire, must be a part of the United States—and this, not necessarily by force. The United States, in the event of Canada seceding from British connection, could readily draw her into the Union by the free trade which would follow.

There is no sovereignty of this nature in the vicinity of Australasia, or of North Africa—hence the overwhelming importance to Britain that in the measures by which these portions of the Empire are confederated, power should be retained by the Mother Country to carry out, in due time, Imperial Federation. It is not at all probable that the limits of British territorial aggrandisement in South Africa have been reached. It is probable that, as in India, England has been in some sense, compelled from time to time to add to her territory, so in Africa, she will be forced by circumstances to stretch out her hands northward from Cape Colony, and southward from the Congo, until the whole of Central and South Africa, are held in her grasp. In view therefore of these probabilities of what infinite importance it is that British Statesmen should in all their future dealings with these portions of the globe, lay down at once, and firmly, the lines on which Imperial Federation will eventually be constructed.

But the greatest force at work in producing Imperial Federation is to be found in Ireland.* It will surprise many to hear that Canada has within the last fifty years passed *in petto* through the very struggles in which Ireland has been engaged for nearly a century, and the final result in Ireland must, in the nature of things, be just exactly that which ended the Canadian struggle—that is, a *quasi* independency, with a loyal dependence on Britain. From Crown Colonies, Upper and Lower Canada, now the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, developed into Colonies governed each by a governor, appointed by the Home Government, an elective House of Assem-

* Lest it may be thought for what I am about to write that my language is emphatic from racial, or religious, or political feeling, I desire to say, that I am an Upper Canadian by birth—my parents were both English, and I have never crossed the Atlantic. I am a member of the Church of England, and a pronounced Conservative. In England I would support the home policy of Mr. Gladstone, but I would denounce his foreign policy, which I consider a disgrace to the British name. In Ireland, ten years ago, I would have been a rebel, now a pronounced Parnellite. And I will show that the guidance of one simple principle, has led me to these apparently paradoxical results, the guidance of the principle of justice,

bly, and a nominated Upper House. This system had the outward appearance of a Constitutional form of Government—but it was really a wolf in sheep's clothing. The Governor appointed the Upper House, and as no Bill passed by the popular House—the House of Assembly, could become law without the assent of both of the other branches of Parliament, the Upper House and the Governor, the first result was in effect that the Provinces were governed by an Oligarchy, at the head of which stood the Governor, and as he was governed by the Home Authorities, the final result was that the Provinces were in very truth and in fact governed in Downing Street. This is, broadly speaking, the system under which Ireland is now, and has since the Union, been governed, with the almost imperceptible difference that the Provinces had what was termed popular representation through the House of Assembly, while Ireland has had what also is termed popular representation in the British Parliament. But, in both cases, this representation, so far as carrying into effect the wishes of the people is concerned, was a sham—a fraud, and a solemn farce. In one Session about fifty years ago the Lower House passed fifty-nine Bills, fifty-six of which were thrown out by the Upper,—and this was a fair sample of the treatment received by the people from the Oligarchy. Similarly, no measure, however beneficial to the Irish people, or however desired by them, ever passed into law unless approved by the 'Castle' in Dublin—that is by the Imperial Authorities in London by whom the 'Castle' was governed. In Upper Canada, the clique who answered to the 'Castle' of Ireland were known as 'The Family Compact.' The Province was ruled by them with a rod of iron. All the public funds passed through their hands; all public offices were in their control; all legislation was subject to their veto; even the approach to the Throne—that invaluable right, as dear to the Briton as Magna Charta—was barred by this irresponsible power which eventually drove the exasperated reformers of the day into the rebellion of 1837. Years of petitioning the Home Office, years of delegations to the British Prime Minister of the day, years of begging and praying, and years of indignant protests, ended in rebellion.

The Provinces were fairly driven by injustice into armed defiance. Ireland has been driven more than once into open rebellion by exactly the same force—the force of injustice. Canada was far away, and bordering on a powerful country anxious to absorb her. Britain therefore thought it cheaper to do justice at once, and fully, than to drive the Provinces into the arms of the Americans, who were ready and anxious to receive them. Had Ireland possessed such a neighbour her sufferings would have had as speedy an ending as those of Canada. But she was too near Britain, and too far from the United States. Britain could tie her to the stake, and beat and burn her at will. Her cries fell dead on British ears, for she proclaimed to the world that she was wicked and vicious; that she murdered her rulers, defied the laws, and would destroy the Empire. She denied Ireland the most ordinary rights, and scourged her with whips of scorpions because she complained. Coercion followed coercion. Severity was followed by increased severity. The increase went on in geometrical progression, until a system of absolute cruelty was evolved in which the whole Island was enfolded, as helpless as a fawn in the coils of the anaconda. Canada would have been treated in precisely the same manner had her geographical position been similar to that of Ireland; and had England treated Ireland as she treated Canada, Ireland would long since have been what Canada has long been to England, a loving child—a warm friend—a powerful auxiliary.

I well know that these words will be read with surprise and contempt by thousands, and it will be said ‘what unsufferable impertinence is this! By what right does a Colonist who admits he has never set foot on either of the British Isles, thus arraign us!’ My answer is simple: The history of English rule in Ireland is open to the whole world, and my knowledge of Canadian history enables me to draw these comparisons. In truth, a Canadian is better able to form a correct opinion of the position of Ireland than any Englishman, for the simple reason that, standing aloof from the passions and prejudices which blind the Englishman, he can coolly and with a judicial mind form an accurate

judgment. If England could but for a single hour see her treatment of Ireland as unprejudiced men of any other nation see it, she would be horrified by the spectacle. It is vain to denounce the Irishman as incorrigible; vain to insist that it is impossible to work with, or live with him on equal terms; vain to declare that nothing short of absolute independence will satisfy him—vain to stigmatize him as ignorant, vicious, criminal, obstinate, and thoroughly and irreclaimably wicked, for all this has been and still is poured out upon his devoted head by thousands of English writers and speakers. But when we look at the Irishman in any foreign land where he breathes free air, what do we see? What is he in Canada? What in the United States? I have known him in Canada for half a century. I have known him in the hundred various occupations of Canadian life, from a Governor-General to a hod-carrier. I have known him as a Lieutenant-Governor of a Province; in Parliament, as a member of the Commons, and as a member of the Senate. I have known him as a Cabinet Minister. I have known him on the Bench of the Supreme Court of Canada—as a judge in every superior and inferior Court from the Atlantic to the Pacific—as a Bishop—as a Presbyterian—as a Commander-in-Chief—as a General of Brigade, and as a military man in every grade of the Service. I have been, and still am, intimately acquainted with him as a business man—as a head of great railway companies—as a president and manager of the hundred various banking, land, and money institutions of the Dominion—as an architect, a skilled mechanic, a farmer, a domestic servant, a daily labourer, a navvy, a digger of drains, a hod-carrier, a scavenger. In all these positions he has proved himself in Canada the loyal subject of the British Crown—an able, upright, honourable, honest man—the equal in ability, eloquence, and learning to any man of any other nation; he has conspicuously exhibited the national characteristics of kindness of heart and geniality of disposition; he has been law-abiding in a remarkable degree, and ever ready to take the advice of, or pursue the course advised by, his superiors. With us he has ever been, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, the industrious man, the excellent

neighbour, the thriving subject, the most desirable citizen. Why is he so different in his own country? There is but one mode of accounting for the difference. In Canada he is free—in Ireland a slave; in Canada a landlord; in his own country, a tenant under a rental, until lately, far beyond a just rate. In Canada he takes part in his own government—in Ireland his mouth is gagged, and he is permitted to exert but little influence in municipal affairs. In Canada he feels himself the equal of all—in Ireland he feels himself looked down upon by a foreign race who irritate him at every turn, and goad him every hour. In Canada, unless he seeks him, he never sees a constable or a soldier; in Ireland these cover the country, and make it an immense garrison. In Canada he sees nothing but right and justice; in his own country the very air is filled with wrong and injustice. How then is it possible for human nature to exhibit itself in its fairest character in a country where the conditions of justice and peace are absent? These be bitter words, but they be true, and Britain will be wise when she accepts them, and heroically sets herself to work to end the hideous dream in which she has been governing Ireland. When the scales fall from her eyes she will start aghast, and wonder by what witchery she has been for a century so blinded. Is this terrible condition of things to continue? Ireland has been tugging at her chains for many decades. Illwill, hate, fire, and blood have been household words with her. Britain has made concessions in the direction of justice from time to time, but the Irishman remembers with the bitterness of insult and cruelty that not one of these has been yielded unless by the force of rebellion, murder, or dynamite. In no single instance has Britain been fair enough, or honest enough, or generous enough, or noble enough to suggest a benefit, or make a spontaneous offer of a relaxation of her iron rule. Of course, Ireland receives the concessions in sullenness,—offers no thanks, and immediately lays plans for new rebellions, other murders, and a larger supply of dynamite. Can Britain expect anything else? Is she so blind as not to be able to see that human nature will for ever assert itself? Does she imagine that any man, even the most

degraded savage, can be governed on any principle under heaven, other than that of justice? Britain says—she always insisted—that she has been just to Ireland, but history condemns her. Above all, the present condition of Ireland condemns her; the wretched poverty, the squalid misery, the deaths from absolute hunger, the hideous spectacle of almost naked men, women, and children flying from their hovels, miserable habitations at best, but their only protection, driven by constables, who require the presence of armed soldiers; a beautiful country, rich in soil, salubrious in climate, abounding in all that goes to the support in comfort and luxury of its inhabitants, unable even to keep from starvation its unhappy people—all this makes up an indictment against Britain which no special pleading can set aside, and upon which she is daily found guilty—the jurors being the independent peoples of the world.

Ireland cannot thus go on. A remedy must be applied. What is it? Britain has tried everything, but the right thing—and that thing is of the plainest, simplest, and easiest of all remedies. It is called JUSTICE. As I have shown, she applied this remedy to Canada a few decades ago, and it has worked well—as it always will do. There were thousands in Britain then who believed that the grant of constitutional Government to Canada would speedily lead to our independence, and so convinced of this was the British Minister who sent out Lord Metcalfe as Governor-General, that he was actually, instructed to prevent, if possible, the full development of the Constitution which had been solemnly granted to us. But justice worked its inevitable end. Canada became at once contented; content produced enterprise, and hope, and these in their turn, produced prosperity, and as prosperity continued, the loyalty of Canada became intensified. At length Canada made what seemed to the British mind, the unheard-of and disloyal demand that she be allowed to arrange her own tariff, and tax, as she pleased, all foreign goods, British as well as those of all other nations. Had Canada not been contiguous to the United States, it is probable this demand would have been refused. If she had been Ireland, it certainly would have

been treated with scorn ; but a refusal to Canada was impossible. It meant separation, for we should most certainly have insisted on this act of justice, and the ending would doubtless have been absorption by the United States. The result has astonished the selfish Briton who insists that all the Colonies should live for his benefit, regardless of their own. The public returns show that Canadian trade with Britain has, proportionally, increased at a much higher rate than that with any other nation, and so far from the Canadian tariff having injured the British manufacturer it has largely benefitted him. The strictly just dealings of Britain with Canada have brought loyalty to the British Crown with us up to the heat almost of a passion, and certainly Canada would go far to assist Britain if assistance ever be required.

Now, why should not similar causes produce similar results in Ireland? Why should not Ireland be granted a Constitutional Government similar in its general lines to that of Canada? Is there really any valid reason why she should not? I know that such a proposition will be received with scorn and contempt by thousands of the average Englishman ; and because he is now driven into a corner, and must do something, he will set his wits to work, and devise some half-and-half scheme with which he hopes to quiet the Irish mind. But no such device will succeed. Ireland wants just what Canada wanted and got—simple justice in the shape of a Constitutional Government of her own ; and she must get it. No ingenious patch-work will suffice. The wordy platitudes of Mr. Gladstone will fall dead on the ears of Ireland and the world. The stiff-necked hauteur of the aristocratic Lord Salisbury will meet with scorn, and Ireland must doubtless continue her agitation until statesmen worthy of the name and equal to the occasion appear. An opportunity is now offered to the public men of Britain, to render to their country an invaluable service,—such a service as would rank second to none in the whole course of British history. The full, free and open-handed grant to Ireland of such a Government as has been granted to Canada, would immortalise Mr. Gladstone, or Lord Salisbury, and entitle them to high rank in the grand

procession of the great statesmen of Britain. But it is hopeless, I fear, to expect so much from either of these men. The first is parochial, not Imperial in his ideas; the other is blinded by the fear of democracy which distinguishes his order. To my mind Lord Randolph Churchill has ideas liberal enough, and Imperial enough, to carry out such a scheme. No man can do it, who is not able to rise to the real grandeur of the idea. That such a blessing is in store for Ireland cannot be doubted. It will come sooner or later, and if Mr. Parnell continues in his judicious course the final result cannot be far distant. To him—to the Irish people—to the nations, it is a matter of no consequence whatever by what hands the blessing be tendered. Whether by Mr. Gladstone, or Lord Salisbury, or Lord Randolph Churchill, or by some statesman now unknown to the world, is of no moment; but the leaders of public opinion in Britain will do well to consider that the rendering of so priceless a benefit to the Empire at large, will entitle them to be placed on the very loftiest pinnacle in the British temple of fame.

No one need fear that the majority in Ireland, under such a Constitution, would either crush the minority or strive for absolute independence. I say this from my knowledge of the Irishman as he really is in freedom. Here he exhibits neither intolerance nor disloyalty; and, at all events, Britain is bound by all the laws of justice to give him that to which he is entitled, without regard to any fear she may have that, having secured his own rights, he would immediately set himself to work to destroy the rights of others. We hear much of guarantees to the Protestants, and to the landlords. These need, and should get, but one guarantee, and that is that all shall stand equal before the law. Any attempt to hedge in the new Constitution by guarantees and qualifying powers will infallibly bring disaster. There is but one mode of dealing with this great question, and that is broadly, Imperially, nobly. Trust the Irishman—he is worthy of it. Of course, it will take time to get a machine so novel to Ireland into smooth working order, but the intelligence and sound sense of the people will assert themselves more and more as time progresses, and Ireland will speedily become as contented, as loyal, as prosperous, and as

happy as Canada. The bugbear of absolute independence should not make Britain hesitate in the noble work. Give Ireland the Canadian Constitution, and she will become a second Canada—and Canada does not even dream of separation from Britain. She sees in Imperial Federation the solution of the question—‘How am I to become a nation, and yet retain my connection with Britain?’—and Ireland will find the same solution of the same question put by herself.

It is not probable—in fact, it would be a violation of the spirit of the British system of government if it were proposed—that so great a change in the relations of Ireland to the Empire will be carried out without a direct appeal to the people. It must be made a distinct question at the polls, and the general plan must be prepared and clearly laid before the constituencies of the British Isles. It is probable that the heat of party, the power of prejudice, the fear of disaster, combined with ignorance, will for some time defeat what to thousands will appear a tremendous leap into the dark. But the sound sense of the British voter will prevail, supported as it will be by the strong feeling for justice which underlies the British character. When the truth is seen, these two powerful forces will do their work, and the act of giving to Ireland the liberty long since given to Canada will appear what it really is—a simple, safe, and easy duty. Viewed at a distance, and in the foggy atmosphere created by prejudice, ill-will, and racial antagonisms, Ireland dressed in Canadian costume now appears to thousands of British eyes a frightful monster, intent only on the dismemberment of the Empire. A nearer view of her will exhibit her as an engaging youth, proud of his country, delighted with his freedom, and anxious to be recognised as a friend to Britain, a warm supporter of the integrity of the Empire, and a willing auxiliary to British power. The Englishman shakes his head at all this, pronounces it mere sentimentality, and wonders that any such nonsense was ever permitted the use of type. But I firmly reply, ‘Try and see yourself as others see you,’ ‘Put yourself in Ireland’s place,’ ‘Be just, and fear not; and while you are determined to do something for Ireland, do all you ought to do—not a part only; and whatever you do let it be done in the broad, noble spirit of

the full, complete, and satisfying justice, which will commend itself to the minds of the nations, who are now watching you, and by whom you will be justly judged.'

But in yielding this constitution to Ireland, care should be taken that the lines on which to frame her as a portion of the scheme of Imperial Federation be firmly drawn. The fact that she must form a prominent member of this great system should not be forgotten. It will be easy to introduce this as a necessary constituent in her new economy, but if provision be not made in the initial measures, it may be extremely difficult to remedy the defect when the time has arrived for actual Federation. The large population of Ireland, her great wealth—for she must, in the nature of things, become very rich; the martial character of her people, and her contiguity to England will render her presence in any scheme of Federation absolutely essential. For many years—perhaps for all time—she would be the most important of all the Possessions, for though Canada, Australasia, and Africa may eventually surpass her in population, wealth and power, her geographical position will always give her a commanding influence in British affairs. Her enmity would be as carefully avoided as her friendship would be anxiously cherished, and possibly Britain might be so situated as to view without alarm the complete secession of any one of her Colonies, when the absolute independence of Ireland would be a disaster to the Empire. Of what supreme importance, therefore, is it that great care be taken, in giving Ireland her new Constitution, to provide for her entrance, when desired, into Imperial Federation?

My argument is concluded. I have no doubt that Ireland must ere long be invested with all the freedom and liberty of action now possessed by Canada; that this freedom must not be conceded without arrangements with her to enter into Federation—that the necessities surrounding this question will hasten the action of the other British possessions; that therefore in Ireland is found the greatest force leading up to Imperial Federation, and that as the Irish question must speedily be settled, the Federation of the Empire is not very distant.

WILLIAM LEGGO.

Winnipeg, January, 1886.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

Christ and Christianity. By PHILIP SCHAFF. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1885.

This volume deals with a variety of topics of present theological interest. Coming from Dr. Schaff, one of the foremost theologians of the United States, as might be expected, it is able and scholarly, and animated by a liberal and reverent spirit. Dr. Schaff's evangelicalism is of the purest and noblest order. His trust in the truth is unbounded, and he is not afraid to recognise it in whatever quarter it may appear. He has a good word to say even for those from whom he differs; nor is he afraid to utter it. 'Rationalism,' he asserts, 'bad and destructive as it was in its immediate effects, did and still does good service in investigating the natural and human aspects of the Bible; but instead overthrowing, as was the intention, the belief in its supernatural and divine character, it has only supplemented this belief and furnished a broader foundation for it.' This is true and proves the thoroughly liberal and thoroughly enlightened character of the writer's orthodoxy. In the first paper Dr. Schaff treats of 'the Theology of our age and country,' and among other things pleads the necessity for a distinctively American Theology. 'American Theology,' he observes, 'should mark a new era in the progressive development of the Church—a development, not of the divine truth itself, which is perfect and unchangeable, but of the human apprehension and application of the truth as it is in Christ and the Gospel.' In the paper entitled 'Consensus of the Reformed Confessions,' he maintains that every age must produce its own theology adapted to its peculiar condition and wants. When first enunciated this opinion was strongly objected to; but it is one in which all who have studied theology and the requirements of the human mind will cordially agree; and certainly it is an opinion which is gaining ground day by day. Among the remaining papers are 'Christ His own witness,' 'Christ in Theology,' 'Protestantism and Romanism,' 'The Principles of the Reformation,' and the 'Development of Religious Freedom.' The first two deserve to be specially mentioned. Each of them is an admirable exposition, the first of evangelical truth, and the second of the development of the doctrine of the person of Christ. Scattered throughout the volume are many beautiful gems of thought. The papers were well worth reprinting in a permanent form, and should do much to correct and widen opinion, and to promote evangelical truth. We have read them ourselves with the utmost pleasure.

Progressive Orthodoxy: a Contribution to the Christian Interpretation of Christian Doctrines. By the Editors of the

Andover Review, Professors in Andover Theological Seminary. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co. 1886.

We have some difficulty in making out whether the authors of this work intend it to be scientific or simply popular. If it is intended to be the latter, a good deal may be said in its favour, as it is considerably above the average of such works and well suited as a sort of progressive manual to help those who are perplexed with the old doctrines of theology and are tenaciously holding to them, to widen out their thoughts and to reconcile themselves with something like the appearance of progress. On the other hand, if it be intended as a scientific work, it seems to us to fail of its promise. The aim of the writers, we take it, is to restate the forms of the old Theology in terms of modern thought and experience. The title they have given their work seems to us a mistake. A better would have been obtained by substituting for the word 'Progressive,' the word 'Struggling.' It is questionable, to put it in the mildest way, whether on the lines they have chosen, progression is at all possible. The plan they have adopted is to take the old doctrinal forms and to search out new explanations of them, or to present them in new lights. To call anything of this kind progressive is simply a misuse of terms. Real progress is to be had not by trying to refurbish the old forms but by going behind and beneath them, seizing the fundamental principles for which they stand, and then developing them afresh. The growth of the Christian consciousness and Christian intellect during the centuries which have elapsed since the principles inculcated by Christianity were crystalised into the formulæ of the ancient symbols of the Church, would seem to indicate that it is time that these old formulæ were not merely re-viewed, or re-stated, or re-presented, but that they were re-examined, and when necessary made to give place to others which express more exactly the highest thoughts and conceptions which the modern Christian mind is capable of forming of the fundamental principles of its faith. Progress of this kind, however, the Professors of the Andover Theological Seminary do not seem to have meditated. They exhibit no intention whatever of examining any of the doctrines they deal with *de novo*, or of developing them afresh from their radical principles. They aim simply at presenting the old doctrines in a new light. The consequence is that from a scientific point of view their work is not altogether satisfactory. The principal doctrines dealt with are the Incarnation, the Atonement, and the Eschatological doctrine. The paper on the Incarnation, while saying many beautiful and true things respecting our Lord's humanity, is in its scientific aspects defective. The writer refers to the principle of the Divine immanence but scarcely seems to see its significance for the doctrine he has in hand. It is doubtful indeed whether he has a thorough grasp of the principle underlying the doctrine of the Incarnation. On page 26 he takes Dr. Liddon to

task, and rightly, for treating Christ's humanity as a vesture or robe or instrument of the Eternal Word; but fails to see that his own statement of the matter in the first sentence beginning on page 28, is almost if not absolutely identical with it. His statement, indeed, 'the self-revealing . . . Word and Son of God . . . creates in "the fulness of the time," a nature which is the perfect counterpart of his own, its human side and means of realisation' is open to another objection; a 'perfect counterpart' of the Eternal Word would, and only could, be a second Eternal Word, and could not, therefore, be what the author seems to regard, as our Lord's human nature. Equally unfortunate, again, is the assertion further on that Christ's human nature is a real image of the Divine Word. To our mind it is something more. The radical fault of the paper, however, is in placing the Divine at one pole of existence and the human at the other, and in forgetting that man is most man when likest God. It seems to us that the doctrine of the two natures requires to be re-examined in the light of modern thought and philosophy, and with special reference to the principle of divine immanence. The result, we venture to assert, will be to confirm the doctrine of our Lord's incarnation in such a way as to bring it out of the region of speculative theology, whither it has so long been relegated, into the region of practical life. At the same time, defective as the paper is as a scientific exposition of the doctrine of the Incarnation, we must add that just as it contains many true and striking things about the humanity of our Lord, so it contains many of the same kind respecting Him as the incarnation of the Eternal Word. The paper on the atonement begins well, but the writer fails to carry out the principle with which he begins. While reading this and one of the subsequent papers we have been reminded of the saying of Butler that men often take great liberties with the justice of God. In the passage—'And it (the Gospel) teaches also that God can be forgiving because Christ suffered and died,' the author of this paper contradicts Scripture. In our opinion, what the Gospel teaches is not that God can be forgiving because Christ suffered and died, but that Christ suffered and died because God is forgiving. The passages in proof of this are pretty numerous, and the author of the paper has himself furnished one, by implication it is true, in the principle with which he sets out. The papers which deal with the practical aspects of Christianity are more satisfactory than those which deal with its doctrines. The book, however, is well worth reading and though the reader who looks for scientific theology may find much from which to differ there is scarcely a page in it which he will not find eminently suggestive.

The Destiny of Man Viewed in the Light of his Origin. By
JOHN FISKE. Ninth Edition. Boston and New York:
Houghton, Mifflin, & Co. 1886.

This admirable little volume deserves to be as popular on this side of the Atlantic as it is on the other. It is written with the utmost clearness and conciseness and is full of information and suggestiveness on one of the profoundest topics of human thought. Mr. Fiske does not of course profess to have demonstrated the doctrine of immortality, but he has examined it in the light of Darwinism and the broader theory of Evolution, and has shown with great force and precision that Darwinism and Evolution, instead of militating against the doctrine, suggests it, and furnish the belief in it with no inconsiderable support. We may even go further and say that the implication of his argument is that the doctrine of immortality is not only suggested and supported by the theories of Darwinism and Evolution, but is demanded by them as their legitimate and logical issue. Two brief extracts will show exactly Mr. Fiske's position. 'The Darwinian theory properly understood,' he remarks 'replaces as much theology as it destroys. From the first dawning of life we see all things working together toward one mighty goal, the evolution of the most exalted spiritual qualities which characterise Humanity.' And again, 'He who regards Man as the consummate fruition of creative energy, and the chief object of Divine care, is almost irresistibly driven to the belief that the soul's career is not completed with the present life upon the earth. Difficulties on theory he will naturally expect to meet in many quarters; but these will not weaken his faith, especially when he remembers that upon the alternative view the difficulties are at least as great. We live in a world of mystery, at all events, and there is not a problem in the simplest and most exact departments of science which does not speedily lead us to a transcendental problem that we can neither solve nor elude. A broad common-sense argument has often to be called in, where keen-edged metaphysical analysis has confessed itself baffled.' These are weighty and sagacious words; and while indicating the argument Mr. Fiske has followed, they disclose the spirit in which he has approached his subject and in which he has handled it. For the working out of his argument we must refer the reader to the volume, which, small as it is, we cannot help regarding as a most weighty and valuable contribution both to the subject with which it deals and to philosophical theology.

The Idea of God as affected by Modern Knowledge. By JOHN FISKE. London: Macmillan & Co. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1885.

We owe thanks to the critics of Mr. Fiske's previous well-known volumes, *Cosmic Philosophy*, and *The Unseen Universe*, etc., for having so misunderstood and misrepresented his views as to the nature of Deity there given that he has felt himself compelled to return to this subject, and seek to make his views plainer, or at least more comprehensible to the average intellect. The result is a very valuable and highly interesting essay. It was first read before the Concord School of Philosophy as an opening paper

to a debate on the question 'Whether Pantheism is the legitimate outcome of modern science.' We do not know what the outcome of the debate was, but we should think that the negative side must have found powerful support in the facts and arguments presented by Mr. Fiske at the opening of it. It was not so much that question, however, that our author had before his mind in the drafting and elaboration of his essay, as to give clearness and emphasis to his idea of God which he had found so much misapprehended, and which he thought, if correctly apprehended, would furnish both the right answer to the problem under debate, and the sufficient justification of that answer. To lead up to this he passes under review the progress made by science during the last few centuries, and especially during the last few decades, and the changes which men's conceptions of God have undergone from the ages of the grossest anthropomorphism up to Mr. Herbert Spencer's 'Infinite and Eternal Energy,' and Mr. Matthew Arnold's 'Power which makes for righteousness.' Accepting both with certain modifications, he seeks to establish the *psychic nature* of this Energy or Power, and to show that in all its manifestations or operations—in the evolution of history—there is *intelligent or rational purpose*. The argument is a model of arrangement, and the surveys of facts are as comprehensive as they are concise. The essay, with its preface, merits the careful attention of scientists, and of all who are perplexed with the vexed question of the relations of Science and Religion.

Zechariah: his Visions and Warnings. By the late Rev. W. LINDSAY ALEXANDER, D.D., L.L.D, F.R.S.E. London: James Nisbet & Co., 1885.

This is not properly speaking a posthumous work though it appears after the gifted author's death. The papers composing it were contributed by the author himself to the *Homiletic Quarterly*. Dr. Alexander's many friends and admirers will, however, doubtless welcome this volume in which they are brought together, both because they form a series of expositions of the prophecies contained in the book named after *Zechariah*, and because they are a worthy monument of their lamented friend's scholarship and of his genius as an interpreter. As an interpreter of the meaning and purpose of any passage of Scripture he undertook to elucidate few were his equals, and his scholarship was apparent in everything he wrote. This volume will be found, therefore, an invaluable help to all who wish to understand the significance of Zechariah's 'visions' for those before whom they were laid, and to appreciate the suitableness and force of his 'warnings' to them in the circumstances in which they then were. We may, however, mention that no attempt is made to settle the question of unity of authorship, or any other purely literary question raised by the prophecy of Zechariah in its present form. The visions, etc., are treated critically, but only in order to bring out their meaning, and always with homiletic intent. Dr. Alexander regarded the visions con-

tained in the first six chapters, not as *mises en scène* or literary expedients on the prophet's or preacher's part, but as actual pictures presented before the wakeful mind of the sleeping seer by God Himself, and during one night's sleep or trance. His conception of prophetic inspiration was the 'mechanical' or traditional one, and he everywhere treats the prophetic utterances, if not as the *ipsissima verba* of Deity, yet as given direct in their present form to the prophet from God. But whatever opinions may be entertained on these points, the expositions here given of these prophecies are all excellent and well worthy of general attention.

The First Century of Christianity. By HOMERSHAM COX, M.A.
London: Longman, Green, & Co. 1886.

The history of the first century of the Christian Church is a very difficult and thorny subject. The controversies for which it has furnished materials are innumerable, and apparently interminable. These Mr. Homersham Cox has for the most part avoided rather than grappled with, and written a very sensible and on the whole, so far as it goes, reliable narrative. Anything like fine writing or rhetorical artifice does not appear in his pages. He pursues his way with the calmness and sobriety of a severely judicial mind, and writes with a solidity and realism that afford a refreshing contrast to the fervid rhetoric and magniloquence in which some previous, and even comparatively recent, writers have indulged when dealing with the subject. At the same time Mr. Cox's pages are pervaded by a spirit of reverence—the reverence which comes of calmly reasoned conviction. Some of his chapters are pre-eminently excellent; such, for instance, as those on the Jews of the Dispersion, the State of Rome, the Ministers of the Church, Baptism and the Eucharist. The chapters on the Ministers of the Church, Liturgies and Hymns, Ritual and the Writers of the First and Second Centuries, somewhat over-pass the limit Mr. Cox has assigned for himself, but are of great interest. Having examined the sources of information afresh Mr. Cox writes with independence. Against Dr. Döllinger he maintains, and successfully, that the President of the Primitive Church in Jerusalem was not St. Peter, and argues conclusively for St. James. His manner of accounting for the peace enjoyed by the Church subsequent to the persecution which arose about Stephen is plausible, though not altogether satisfactory. Nothing is said to show how it came to pass that while Saul was breathing out threatnings and slaughter against certain of the disciples and procured a commission against those in Damascus, the Twelve were allowed to remain in Jerusalem unmolested. Theological discussion Mr. Homersham Cox has scrupulously avoided. We cannot but regret that he has. There are two or three other subjects Mr. Cox has omitted to discuss or give an account of. They deserve to be named as their omission leaves an otherwise excellent work imperfect. Among the causes of the rapid diffusion of the Gospel Mr. Cox omits to take account of the moral and spiritual condition of the world. Again, the internal condition of the Church is scarcely

touched, and nothing is said of the earliest Christian literature, and its innumerable indications of the inner life of the Church and its members. The treatment of these topics by a mind possessing the qualities of Mr. Cox's is to be desired. In a second edition of his work Mr. Cox may probably see his way to deal with them. We hope he will. As it is, his admirably printed volume deserves to be regarded as containing a very excellent account of the external history of the Church during the first century of its existence.

Christianity before Christ; or, Prototypes of our Faith and Culture. By CHARLES J. STONE, F.R.S.L., etc. London: Trübner & Co. 1885.

Mr. Stone has written a very useful, and we may add, charming volume. The picture he has given us of the old life of India is full of freshness and poetry, and no one can read his pages without being insensibly carried away by the exceeding beauty of the scenes they continually depict. He has undoubtedly made out a good case for the civilisation of the Hindus both previous to the spread of Christianity and during the earlier ages of the Christian Era, and pointed out with sureness and precision the existence in it of many prototypes of our own faith and culture. In so doing he has furnished many confirmations to the saying of St. Augustine; 'what is now called the Christian religion, existed among the ancients and was not absent from the beginning of the human race, until Christ came in the flesh; from which time the true religion, which existed already, began to be called Christian.' What Mr. Stone has here done for the Hindus, and more especially for the Buddhists of India, has, one need hardly say, been done for other literatures beside theirs; and, as has often been maintained, there can be little doubt that very many of the truths contained in the New Testament may be found in other literatures. Yet, as has also been pointed out, and that pretty frequently, there is something which distinguishes Christianity from all other religions, a point of contrast as well as points of comparison. What this is, Mr. Stone does not, so far as we have followed him, very distinctly point out. Perhaps it was not his intention to do so. Whether or not, however, his book is well worth reading, and a valuable contribution to the science of religion.

Histoire du Culte des Divinités d'Alexandrie hors de l'Egypte.
Par Georges Lafaye. Paris: Ernest Thorin:

In this volume we have one of the most interesting additions to the invaluable Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome. The most cursory glance at the numerous notes and references at the foot of nearly every page affords sufficient evidence of the indefatigable research of the author, and on perusal one finds that M. Lafaye brings to his arduous task not merely industry, but shrewd apprehension, sound judgment and a charming lucidity of style. Only he who has endeavoured to

penetrate through the glittering mists of the mythologies to the week-day world of humanity which lay beyond, and to present to himself some sane and reasonable account of what were the actual religion and basis of morals amongst the ancients is in a position to appreciate the value of the work which M. Lafaye has accomplished. It is a common-place in history that Christianity broke on the world at the moment when it most terribly needed a Redeemer, but surely neither a man nor a society is nearest to redemption when furthest from God. The wickedness of the age does not explain the rapid conquest of the Cross. An effete mythology and a hideous social depravity have hitherto, in the main, been the only aspects of the time to which attention has been directed. Comparatively few writers have discovered that there was a real religious life, a struggling for a knowledge of God and the attainment of virtue even in those dark days. Poor humanity had advanced so far as to free its slaves for the sake of Him who made the slave. The idea of Providence had been conceived. It had been recognised as the first of man's duties towards God that he should seek to know him. Asceticism had been discovered as a road to virtue. To feed the hungry and to give drink to the thirsty were acknowledged duties. 'Be of good heart' was a tombstone inscription and testified not only to immortality, but to the perception that this life was but a prelude to the next. In fact, as M. Lafaye indicates, the Alexandrian worship, which had not only conquered Rome, but had spread through France and Germany and at least as far north as York and Brougham Castle, prepared and facilitated the advent of Christianity. It is not to the corruption of the age but to the fact that the worship of Serapis, Isis and Anubis, lofty as it was in comparison with earlier modes of worship, did not suffice for the human heart and the human intellect that the rapid spread of Christianity must be ascribed. M. Lafaye's monograph traces the Alexandrian *cultus* from its remote sources down to the days of the New Platonism. In describing the importation of the Egyptian gods into Greece and Rome he throws a vivid and unusual light on the life of the men and women whose identity is so illusive to the modern imagination. The doctrine, the worship, the priesthood, are each described in elaborate and deeply interesting chapters, and not less absorbing is the picture of the conversion of the Western World to the Nilotic divinities. The remaining sections of the volume are devoted to an account of the Isium at Pompeii, the Alexandrian temples at Rome and descriptive catalogues of statues, tablets, gems and other works or fragments of antiquity from which any light can be thrown on the subject. The volume, which is also enriched with several illustrations cannot be too highly commended for its scholarly treatment of a most difficult and fascinating subject.

Four Centuries of Silence: or from Malachi to Christ. By the
Rev. R. A. REDFORD, M.A., LL.B. London: James
Nisbet & Co. 1885.

This volume is composed of papers which have appeared in the *Homiletic Quarterly*, though happily issued by the author himself. The title of it reveals the standpoint which Professor Redford occupies. He regards the canon of Old Testament Scripture as having been closed by Ezra and Nehemiah, or in their days. The period between that date and the appearance of the Baptist was, according to him, a blank so far as direct inspiration was concerned, but was not a period during which the guidance or hand of God was removed from his people. Professor Redford endeavours to illustrate, or prove, that guidance in the events, institutions, and literature of the four hundred years he deals with, and to show how these were preparing for what St. Paul called 'the fulness of the times.' As a popular account of some of the incidents of those centuries this work may carry information into circles where little or nothing is known of them, but everything is treated from the evangelical point of view, and the historico-critical is ignored. Not a few of its statements must be received with caution, and some require modification to be received at all.

The Uncrowned Prince in Israel. A Cairn on a Neglected Grave.

By the Rev. C. W. MACKENZIE. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1885.

This 'cairn' consists of seven small stones, or to drop metaphor, of seven short sermons. In these Mr. Mackenzie brings together the scattered fragments of Scripture story bearing on the career and character of Jonathan, Saul's eldest son, and draws from them the religious and moral lessons with which he thinks them charged. It is a little book which will be warmly welcomed by that large class of readers whom we may describe as altogether devotional and wholly uncritical. It abounds in appeals to the emotional side of our being, but puts no strain on the intellectual. Its author knows nothing of the modern critical methods of dealing with Scripture and is severely orthodox.

Hinduism Past and Present, with an Account of Recent Hindu Reformers, and a Brief Comparison between Hinduism and Christianity. By J. MURRAY MITCHELL, M.A., LL.D.
London: Religious Tract Society, 1885.

Dr. Murray Mitchell has here written a condensed and interesting sketch of the principal religion of India. By dealing only with its salient features and tracing them down from the earliest to the present time, he has avoided the mistake of crowding his pages with useless and unintelligible names. Objection may be taken to some of his speculations respecting the origin of religion, and as to the character of the first religion of the Aryans, but when he sets himself to describe Hinduism as it is reflected in the ancient literature of India, and in the practices of its present followers, he may be followed as an enlightened and sure guide. His first chapters deal with

the religion of the Vedas and Vedic period. Two chapters are devoted to Hindu philosophy, one to the development of ritualism and caste, another to the struggle between Brahminism and Buddhism, and another to the Avatars. The Hindu sects are described, and an interesting chapter is devoted to a comparison between Hinduism and Christianity. As a preparation for a wider study of the religion of India, the volume will be found exceedingly useful.

The Contemporary Evolution of Religious Thought in England, America, and India. By COUNT GOBLET D'ALVIELLA. Translated by J. MODEN. London: Williams & Norgate, 1885.

We are not surprised that Count D'Alviella's work should have appeared so soon in an English translation. It is but two years ago that it was published, and the author's consequent appointment to the Professorship of Comparative Theology in the University of Brussels, and his well-known acquaintance with English and American forms of religious thought, as well as those of Germany and Holland, aroused very wide interest in it. Its brilliant and lucid style, its calm unimpassioned tone, its full and accurate surveys of modern religious sects and movements here, in America, and in India, and its judicial fairness in the treatment of all, secured it at once a popularity which it falls to few works of the kind to enjoy. The more philosophical and liberal Reviews and newspapers everywhere lavished their encomiums on it, and hailed it as a work of sterling merit and enduring worth. Dealing as it does with movements of religious thought in English-speaking nations, or where English power is dominant and English civilization most influential, it was natural that sooner or later—and from its merits soon rather than late—an English translation of it should appear. It has been fortunate in finding in the Rev. J. Moden a translator in full sympathy with its author's views, and inspired with the same judicial and dispassionate spirit. He has given an excellent rendering of the work, has written a short but comprehensive preface to it explanatory of its purpose, inserted some footnotes which bring the data of the work up to this year, and added a most helpful Index—a very much more elaborate one than that in the French edition. The only thing to be regretted in regard to it is that Mr. Moden was not more careful in seeing it through the press. The misprints are trifling in nature, if large in number, but by a little care they might have been corrected in proof. Many readers, not at home in French, but interested in the religious movements of the age, will welcome the work in its English form, and it will not fail, we think, to allay the fears of many in these days of disquietude as to the future of Religion. Count D'Alviella is not in alliance with any sect, but is in hearty moral and intellectual sympathy with all that is highest and best in all. He is devoid of the dogmatism of the sectary and the passion of the iconoclast. He is

throughout an historian, not an apostle. He writes to state facts, not to make converts. He first reviews the schools of thought that have in England influenced philosophical and religious opinion since the Reformation, and gives then a special chapter to the growth and influence on it of the speculations or teachings of Darwin, Herbert Spencer, J. S. Mill, Professor Tyndall, and other scientific celebrities. He then describes the churches or sects existing in this country and America, summarizes their principal articles of belief, and describes their forms of worship, arranging them 'in the order of decreasing dogmatic opinion.' He then describes the theistic movements that have lately shaken the more cultured circles of Hindu life, and shows their disintegrating effects on the hitherto dominant faiths there. He tells the story of the rise of the Brahmo-Somāj, and forecasts its influence on the religious future of India. His knowledge of all these is accurate and minute; has not been gathered by hearsay, or only from books, but from diligent study of each sect's creed, and the writings of its leaders, and from personal attendance on, and observation of, its forms of devotion. His work is a perfect repertory of facts of wide and permanent interest. If we may draw any lesson from it, it is, that under all diversities of form the eternal, the indestructible religious sentiment lives on, and seeks through them all its expression. As our knowledge increases, as our culture advances, the forms of expression change. The ruder give place to more refined. Religion is not dependant on any, and cannot be confined to any one of them. It lies not in identity of conceptions, or conformity in ritual observances, but rather 'in righteousness, and peace, and joy in the spirit of holiness.' No one can read this work without pleasure, except perhaps those who delude themselves with the belief that they alone possess all truth, but even they will not read it without profit. We commend it heartily.

Outlines of the History of Greek Philosophy. By Dr. ED. ZELLER. Translated with the Author's sanction by S. F. ALLEYNE and EVELYN ABBOTT. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1886.

It will be enough if we simply announce the appearance of this excellent compendium of Dr. Zeller's views on the History of Greek Philosophy. Students who are already acquainted with it, will be glad to see it in an English dress, while as for the general reader, who can scarcely fail to be acquainted with Dr. Zeller's fame as an historian and expositor of Greek thought, we can commend it to him as pleasant and instructive reading. He will require to search far before he can find a compendium on the same subject possessing the same grace of expression, or marked by the same breadth of treatment or clearness of exposition.

La Morale d'Épicure et ses rapports avec les doctrines contemporaines. Par M. GUYAU. Troisième édition, revue et augmentée. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1886.

Some time ago we had the pleasure of noticing M. Guyau's work on the ethical doctrines at present in vogue among ourselves, in which he passes some pretty sharp and severe criticism on some of our modern teachers, more especially on those who are numbered among the adherents of the theory of evolution. To that work the present volume may be considered the necessary introduction. In its original shape it formed the first part of the essay which M. Caro spoke of in such eulogistic terms in his report to the Académie des sciences morales et politiques in 1874. Like the other half of that essay, which now forms the work we have just referred to, it has been recast and enlarged, and has now reached its third edition. It is important not only because of the new light in which it presents the doctrines of Epicurus, but also because of its criticisms on some of our most popular theories. It is surprising how little advance has been made on the doctrines of Epicurus by his followers. It is surprising, too, how many have reached the same results as he did from different starting points. M. Guyau's treatment of the subject is exhaustive, and the volume is written with the same freedom and lucidity as its predecessor.

Ecclesiastical Institutions : Being Part VI. of the Principles of Sociology. By HERBERT SPENCER. London : Williams & Norgate, 1885.

Whether we agree with Mr. Herbert Spencer or not as to the genesis of the religious idea and sentiment, we never fail to find his contributions towards their elucidation full of pleasant and profitable reading. He revels in facts ; and, even if we hold his interpretation of these to be wrong, or remain in doubt as to its accuracy, they themselves are always interesting, apt, and well-substantiated. He never feels any hesitancy as to the correctness of his interpretation of these facts, and, as he proceeds to build up his system, be it of Biology, Psychology, or, as here, Sociology, he may pause occasionally to re-emphasize that interpretation, but never to reconsider it. Nothing that has been written or discovered by other travellers and investigators than those he has selected, and whose discoveries support his early expressed views, seems to affect him. He still holds fast to his assertion that there are nations or tribes that have no religious ideas, and are absolutely without the religious sentiments, and that there are many deaf mutes without them among ourselves, owing to their not sharing, because of their infirmities, the thoughts and ideas current in our midst. Knowing Mr. Spencer's views as to these matters, and as to religion being the offspring of inference on the part of primitive thought from its experiences in dreams, trances, and other abnormal forms of temporary insensibility, our interest in this book centres on the origin and growth of the institutions connected with Religion, or the forms which the religious sentiment adopts to express itself, and seek for its gratification. As an historian of these Mr. Spencer is without an equal. His industry in gathering his facts from every accessible source is marvellous, and the care

with which he groups them, and the skill with which he applies them, are beyond praise. Starting here from the assumption that 'in primitive thought the other world repeats this world to the extent that its ghostly inhabitants lead similar lives, stand in like social relations, and are moved by the same passions,' he shows how men set about to honour and provide for the comforts of their beloved dead, or appease and humour those whom they dreaded here, and whose favour they now wish to secure or whose anger they wish to avert. The means adopted varied as the circumstances of an individual, family, or tribe changed, and here the medicine-man, there the father of the family or head of the tribe, or a representative, became the mediator between the spirit-world and this. Thus arose the priestly class, developing gradually into hierarchies, and elaborating their stately ceremonials. Mr. Spencer traces the steps by which this was accomplished, and supports his positions with a wonderful array of examples, and illustrates them profusely. He foresees, too, the, as he thinks, not very distant day when, under the disintegrating force of the 'truth' which is 'ever growing clearer' that God is 'incomprehensible'—is 'an Inscrutable Existence'—all the present ecclesiastical Institutions will decay, and prayer shall cease. Not that then there will be no form of worship. The sentiment of reverence for this 'Infinite and Inscrutable Energy' is, it seems, imperishable, and will seek outlet for itself in some form of common devotion, in which music is to play a somewhat conspicuous part. This, of course, is the least satisfactory part of Mr. Spencer's latest volume, though it contains nothing that is new to anyone acquainted with his other writings. Mr. Spencer, as a persevering and laborious explorer within the province of facts, is always worth listening to, but when he puts on the mantle of the seer he quits his proper vocation altogether. He proposes yet to treat of 'Professional' and 'Industrial Institutions,' but almost despairs of health and strength to accomplish that part of his work. We trust, however, he may be spared to see it safely performed, and not it only, but much more besides; for, from a mind so richly stored with information of all kinds, much light can undoubtedly be shed on many interesting but still obscure problems of our intellectual and social life.

The Symmetry and Solidarity of Truth, or Philosophy, Theology, and Religion Harmonious and Interdependent. By MARY CATHERINE IRVINE. Part I. London: Williams & Norgate, 1885.

This is another of those numerous attempts to reconcile the *dicta* of religion with the *data* of scientific investigation, with which we are now becoming so painfully familiar. We open such works with perhaps a modicum of hope, but are obliged shortly to lay them down in despair. Not that they are worthless. As contributions to the clearer understanding of some of the problems of Philosophy or Religion, they are sometimes very valuable, but somehow the harmony between the two is not made much

clearer to our minds, and their respective apostles do not fall into each other's arms in joy, and wonder that they had stood so long apart and looked at each other with such unbrotherly suspicion. Our authoress has not been daunted by the numerous failures of others, and fancies she sees the initial mistakes her predecessors fell into, which rendered their efforts abortive. Mindful of these, she proceeds afresh to the task, but on, as she thinks, new lines, and full of hope. Her work is not yet accomplished, and we should not like in any way for the present to discourage her, or commit the folly of sitting in judgment on 'half-done work.' She seems to have read a good deal of 'philosophy,' though her grasp of the more exacting abstractions of such a writer as Hegel, even when transmuted through the more practical mind of D. J. H. Stirling, is not very great. As a religionist, her position is somewhat indefinable, which is a pity. Her creed is a kind of 'Evangelical Arianism,' as she calls it, but what that is we must refer our readers to her book to discover. She casts her book in the pleasant form of letters, and writes in a clear and vigorous style, when she is not attempting to make plain to us 'evangelical Arianism.' She falls, however, into some curious blunders. We ought not to have to inform her that Kuenen is not a 'German rationalist,' and that the 'sentiment' she quotes from Lessing, as to the possession of truth and its search, is not 'a *dilettanti* sentiment.' She clearly does not comprehend it, and fails to enter into its spirit.

Archæological and Historical Collections Relating to the County of Renfrew. Vol. I. Parish of Lochwinnoch. Privately Printed. Paisley: Alex. Gardner, 1885.

This is the first volume of what would seem to be a very large and important undertaking. The intention, it would appear, is to go over the County of Renfrew, Parish by Parish, and print all the documents of importance in connection with them down to the Union, and to give some account of their antiquities and archæological remains. The undertaking is bold. That it will be costly, we need hardly say. When completed, it will be an *opus magnum* equal to anything yet published. The present volume deals with the Parish of Lochwinnoch, and contains the promise of another on the same Parish. Very appropriately, as the first of the series, it begins with Crawford's quaint description, written in 1710, of the entire County—a description which affords abundant material for reflection respecting the changes which have occurred during the last century and a half. Next follows an account of the Sempill family, compiled by the late Dr. Crawford of Johnshill. Then comes a series of one hundred and twenty-six charters and documents connected with the House of Sempill or the Parish of Lochwinnoch. These papers have been gathered from a variety of quarters, and many of them are here printed for the first time. The concluding portion of the volume consists of a series of eight admirably executed lithograph plates, seven of which contain views and details

of the Collegiate Church and Castle Sempill, and the eighth representations of a sword said to have belonged to the Sempill family as hereditary Sheriffs of Renfrew, and to have been carried before Queen Mary at the battle of Langside in 1568. Altogether, the volume is one of great beauty and value. With the second volume we are promised a review of the documents, a description of the plates, and an index to the two volumes.

A History of German Literature. By W. SCHERER. Translated from the Third German Edition by Mrs. F. C. CONYBEARE. Edited by F. MAX MÜLLER. 2 vols. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1886.

Notwithstanding some slight omissions and defects, which, however, are by no means of sufficient importance to seriously affect its value, we can give this work a very cordial welcome. Some such work has long been wanted. Hitherto English readers desirous of learning anything about the history of German literature have been obliged to content themselves with what they could gather on the subject from essays, school-books, or such works as Taylor's now almost forgotten *Historic Survey*. A good popularly written history of German literature in an English dress was not to be had. By the work which Mrs Conybeare has now produced under the editorial care of Professor Max Müller, whose name is a sufficient guarantee for excellence of literary workmanship, the want is at last admirably supplied. A better selection for the object the translator and editor had in view could not have been made. Scherer wrote the work for popular reading, the whole or the greater part of it appearing first in the shape of magazine articles. In Germany it has acquired a great and well merited popularity. It is neither too heavy nor too sketchy. There is abundance of learning in it, but it is never offensively obtruded or made to do duty for reflection. It is written, too, in a manner not usually adopted in German treatises, the style being crisp, vigorous, and picturesque. In the process of translation somewhat of the last mentioned quality has been lost, but Mrs. Conybeare's version has the merit of reading like an original work, her sentences being short and lucid and with very rare exceptions idiomatic. Like most German authors Scherer begins at the beginning and goes back for his starting point to the period preceding the Aryan separation. With Müllenhoff he identifies the Guttones whom Pytheas found on the southern shores of the Baltic with the Teutons, though their identity is exceedingly questionable. Quite as questionable too, in our opinion, is the theory that Sindgund and Brunhild are names for the Aryan sun-god changed into a goddess. Nor can we see in Siegfried merely a 'heaven-god.' As soon, however, as the author leaves the fields of speculation and takes up his real work as the historian of German literature we begin to follow him with pleasure. What he has written is true history, not merely biography and criticism. From beginning to end he keeps distinctly before him the unfolding of the German intellectual

and literary life, points out its motives and tendencies, and the foreign influences affecting it, and makes the reader feel that he is not merely reading about a list of books but is watching the development of the innermost life of a great people. The division of the history into three periods of six hundred years a piece is singularly serviceable. Some parts of the work are pre-eminent for their excellence. Such for instance are the sections dealing with Ulfilas, Roswitha, the old heroic poetry, the Gleemen and wandering Journalists. The following sentences referring to the Nibelungenlied deserve to be quoted as indicating somewhat of the character of Scherer's criticisms and style, 'The Middle High German epic is like an old church, in the building of which many architects have successively taken part, some of whom have scrupulously adhered to the original designs of their predecessors, while others have arbitrarily followed their own devices; little minds have added paintings, scrolls, and side-wings, and Time has thrown over the whole the grey veil of age, so that the general impression is a noble one; yet severer criticisers will reject the excrescences, explore the architectural history, distinguish in it the work of various hands, assigning to each master his own, before judgment can be passed on the artistic design and execution of the whole.' Lachmann's work in the direction here indicated is spoken of with discrimination. Equally good with the sections above referred to are those dealing with the history of dramatic literature, the Renaissance and Reformation, and, to go back, with Walther von der Vogelweide. Justice is done to the Mystics of the thirteenth century, though we can scarcely subscribe to the opinion that Rulmann Merswin's Great Friend from the Oberland was a purely fictitious creation. We are disposed to identify him with Nicolas of Basle. The second volume is devoted mainly to the Schiller and Goethe period, the treatment of which, though occupying almost as many pages as that of all the preceding centuries, is not too full.

Ireland under the Tudors with a succinct account of the earlier History. By RICHARD BAGWELL, M.A. 2 vols. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1885.

The history of Ireland does not lend itself to unity of treatment and whoever undertakes to write it must content himself with being for the most part little more than a chronicler of its invasions, internal contentions and private feuds. The life of most states and kingdoms represents the working out of some great national idea, which the historian is able to trace back to its beginning and to follow in the various stages of its development. In the past of Ireland nothing of the kind appears. Its history has no such epochs as the war of independence in Scotland, or the great struggle in England during the seventeenth century. There has been no fusion of its races and an entire absence of unity in the national mind. Down from the earliest times it has been divided against itself, split up into septs and races, each following its own interests, careless of

the national welfare, favouring the invader and presenting one of the saddest pictures on earth. What the cause of all this has been it is difficult to discern. Mr. Bagwell seems to find it in racial and religious differences and the weakness of successive governments ; and perhaps he is right. That the latter has been a prolific source of evils to Ireland there can be no doubt. Mr. Bagwell's aim, however, in the volumes before us is not to write a partisan pamphlet, nor even a speculative history. Confining himself to the Tudor period, he takes as his key-note a saying of the late Lord Beaconsfield's to the effect that he had no faith in statesmen who attempt to remedy the evils of Ireland, who are ignorant of the past or will not take lessons from it. 'The historian's true office,' he remarks, 'is that of the judge, whose duty it is to marshal all the material facts with just as much of comment as may enable his readers to give them their due weight.' The remark is true and eminently suggestive. As for the facts he has to deal with himself, they are marshalled by Mr. Bagwell in admirable order, while the comments he has ventured to make upon them prove him to be a careful and impartial student, and a trustworthy guide. His opening chapters on the Celtic and Scandinavian elements, and more especially the first, were as necessary as they are instructive and interesting. Without a full knowledge of their contents, the history of Ireland, we believe, is unintelligible. That the miseries of Ireland began with the invasion of the English is a statement difficult of proof, and Mr. Bagwell does not favour it. On the other hand, that it did not diminish them is certain. On the contrary, each successive invasion added fresh elements of strife and bitterness and increased the miseries already too plentifully existing. This, we suspect, is the indictment underlying the greater part of Mr. Bagwell's first volume, and whether it is or not, it is an indictment which his chapters substantiate. Under Henry VIII. things seemed to be working up to something like a settlement. The plan adopted by that monarch was very different from that his children pursued. His aim was to civilise the people as they were and to convert the great chiefs into supporters of his government. But his rupture with Rome introduced another element of discord into Ireland, 'He was a thoroughly selfish man,' observes Mr. Bagwell, 'but in matters which did not concern him personally he had many of the qualifications of a statesman. Had England remained in communion with Rome, his tentative and patient policy might have succeeded with Ireland. The Reformation caused its failure, for there never was the slightest chance of native Ireland embracing the new doctrines. The monasteries had not weighed heavily on Ireland, and their destruction made many bitter enemies and few friends. By upsetting the whole ecclesiastical structure, Henry left the field clear for the Jesuits and wandering friars ; and his children reaped the fruits of a mistake which neutralised every effort to win Ireland.' Elizabeth's policy was vacillating. She seems to have seen clearly enough what was needed in Ireland, but was either unable or unwilling to spare the money to carry

it out. Mr. Bagwell inclines to the opinion that she was unable. 'The poverty of the Crown,' he remarks, 'is the key to many problems of Elizabeth's age. The Queen had to keep Scotland quiet, to hold Spain at bay, and to maintain tolerable relations with France. She saw what ought to be done in Ireland, but very often could not afford to do it. The tendency to temporize was perhaps constitutional, but it was certainly much increased by want of money. Her vacillating policy did much harm, but was caused less by changes of opinion than by circumstances, when the pressure on other points slackened, she could attend to her troublesome kingdom; when it increased she was often forced to postpone her Irish plans. Ireland has always suffered, and still suffers sorely, from want of firmness. In modern times party exigencies work mischief analogous to that formerly caused by the Sovereign's necessities.' Mr. Bagwell's second volume opens with the accession of Elizabeth and continues the story of Ireland down to the year 1578. Another volume will, it is expected, complete the work. The points of interest which emerge in the volumes now published are innumerable, and we strongly commend the work to our readers.

Italy and her Invaders. By THOMAS HODGKIN. Vols. III. and IV. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1885.

Mr. Hodgkin has here brought down his history of the invasions of Italy to the year 553. The period traversed, ending with the restoration of the imperial authority by the eunuch Narses and beginning with the invasion of the Ostro-Goths under Theoderic, is measured by about seventy-six years. To the narrative of the events of these years, Mr. Hodgkin has devoted two bulky volumes containing together over fifteen hundred pages. Bulky as they are, however, no one, we imagine who has read them, will wish that either volume were a page shorter, or be disposed to bring against the author the charge of unnecessary diffuseness. The period dealt with was pregnant with great and magnificent possibilities, and as one of the most important both in European history and in the history of civilisation, is entitled to have its history written with the greatest possible fulness. It is not of much practical use to speculate on what might have been, but in passing we may remark that there can be little doubt that the death of Totila and the return of Justinian's logothetes threw back the tide of civilisation for several centuries. A strong Gothic kingdom in Italy, well led and illustrating the principles of Theoderic's government would have been more than a match for the Lombards. It might have hastened on the downfall of the Eastern Empire, but the gain to the West, and to humanity at large, would have been exceedingly great. As Mr. Hodgkin's work proceeds it gains in interest and value. A genuine contribution to historical science, it is also one of the most important additions which our permanent literature has received for many a day. The simplicity and naturalness with which Mr. Hodgkin writes, make his style a singular contrast to Gibbon's, but by no means inferior to it. To our own mind it

is, if anything, superior. For after all Gibbon is somewhat hard to read ; few readers come in sight of his last volume without a sense of weariness. Mr. Hodgkin's work on the other hand is read with ease, and though the reader will certainly put down the two volumes more than once before he has finished them, he will always return to them with unwearied interest. They read indeed like an old romance of chivalry, and as the record of things actually said and done are incomparably more instructive. Many pages of the two volumes, more especially of the fourth, are necessarily taken up with the march of armies and the clash of arms ; but here and there Mr. Hodgkin digresses to more peaceful subjects. Chapters are devoted to a description of the Roman aqueducts, to St. Benedict, Cassiodorus, Symmachus and Boethius, each of which forms an admirable monograph, and though breaking the thread of the narrative for a little, is serviceable as throwing a more abundant light on the story. The life of the great but ill-starred Belisarius is told with consummate art. To Justinian and his amiable consort Theodora even-handed justice is dealt out, and too much credence is not given to the bitter anecdotes of Procopius. With the theological controversies of the period Mr. Hodgkin deals as fully as need be, and threads his way among them with skill. It is impossible here, however, to do justice to all the admirable qualities of his work. We can only commend it to our readers and hope that we may have the pleasure of returning to it again.

An Old Scots Brigade, Being the History of Mackay's Regiment.

By JOHN MACKAY, late of Herriesdale. Edinburgh and London : W. Blackwood & Sons. 1885.

Shortly before the great Civil War broke out in the seventeenth century there was published a narrative of adventures in the German Wars, by one who was afterwards to apply the experience gained there in Scotland and the North of Ireland. To 'Munro his expedition with the worthy Scots Regiment, etc., etc.,' Sir Walter Scott was indebted for some of the life-like touches in the character of Dugald Dalgetty, and Dr. John Hill Burton has also made that worthy 'Scottish Colonel,' familiar to readers of the *Scot Abroad*. But Munro's work is not likely to tempt the general reader, and Mr. Mackay has done well in presenting the materials it contains in a more modern and readable form. In the volume before us he sketches the history of the famous Mackay Regiment, supplementing Munro's invaluable testimony from other sources, and adding in an Appendix some very interesting papers from Lord Reay's Charter chest. If, as the old ballad tells us, the feeling of Scotswomen towards the struggles of the Continent was 'Dule upon the wars of Hie Germanie,' that of their male relatives in the North at least, is very well expressed in the Gaelic saying quoted by Mr. Mackay—'He that is down in luck shall get a dollar from Mackay.' Nothing could show better the martial spirit of the race, than the narrative traced in this volume. But we cannot congratulate Mr. Mackay upon the title

he has chosen. His book is the story of the Mackay Regiment, not the history of the Scots Brigade of Sweden, which would be a much larger and very fascinating subject. No doubt the Mackay Regiment was second to none in that Brigade, and the dark tartan of Lord Reay probably gave it its name of 'the Green Brigade.' Mr. Mackay reproduces as a frontispiece an old German sketch of foreign troops who had arrived at Stettin at the time Mackay's Regiment was there, which shows clearly that some of them at least wore the Highland dress. It was in 1626 that Sir Donald Mackay obtained the Royal permission to raise a regiment in his northern domains to assist Count Mansfeldt, the general of Charles I's sister, Elizabeth of Bohemia, the celebrated 'Queen of Hearts,' and for that service in two years he was authorised to raise 6000 men. But the death of Mansfeldt, led to the transfer of the Regiment to the standards of the King of Denmark. A preliminary dispute arose as to whether it should bear the Danish or the Scottish cross on its colours, which seems to have been compromised by the carrying of both. Before very long a detachment signalized itself in defending the passage of the Elbe, and while in the Danish service the Scottish troops had their full share of danger, privation, and glory. Such was the character they won, that when an appeal for aid reached King Christian from the beleaguered city of Stralsund, he turned to Mackay's regiment to prevent the control of the Baltic falling into the hands of Wallenstein. No sooner had the first detachment arrived than it was marched straight from the market-place to the place of danger, which the lieutenant-colonel had selected 'for his countries' credit.' There they bore the brunt of the famous siege that marked the turning point of the Thirty Years' War till the defence of the city was taken off the hands of the Danes by the Swedes. Two years of foreign warfare had told heavily on them and in 1629 the Regiment was practically re-organised. On the conclusion of peace between Denmark and Austria, it entered the service of Gustavus of Sweden, in which it more than equalled its former achievements in the assault or defence of fortified places and in action in the open field. Munro notes that when the plague raged at Stettin in 1630, the Highlanders suffered less than other nationalities, as has since been found in the Peninsula, the Crimea, and India, and 'no extremity of hunger, pestilence, or sword, could ever make one of them runne away from their colours.' But we cannot do more than refer the reader to Mr. Mackay for the tale of their sufferings at New Brandenburg, and their valour at Frankfort, at Leipzig, and at Nürnberg. They were not present when Gustavus fell on the field of Lützen, but eighteen months later they were terribly cut to pieces at Nordlingen, where out of twelve companies there were only left sufficient men to form one. The remains of the Scottish regiments made a junction on the Rhine with the French army, one of whose leaders was Sir John Hepburn who had previously commanded the Green Brigade under Gustavus. The solitary surviving company of 'the invincible old regiment, the right hand of Gustavus Adolphus' gladly took service with their countrymen under the Lilies, and were thus amalgamated with the most ancient

existing military body in the world that traces its descent from the Archer Guard of France down to the Royal Scots or Lothian Regiment of to-day's British Army List. Alas ! that his exertions in putting such a force into the field, should have cost Lord Reay his fortune and bonnie Strathnaver, but the deeds of such a gallant following are an abiding inheritance in which chief and clansmen may take a pride to all generations. Mr. Mackay deserves the thanks of Scotsmen for placing before them in an accessible form so important and interesting a phase of Scottish activity and European history, and perhaps he will at some future period produce a companion volume on the later Mackay Regiment that served in Holland. We should indeed like to see the vein that he has opened more fully worked, and the same diligent research that Father Forbes-Leith has expended upon the Scots Guard in France, devoted to unearthing as completely as possible the annals of the Scottish troops that were the chief bulwark of the Protestant cause both under the standards of Sweden, and the banner of the House of Orange.

Jacob Boehme : His Life and Teaching, or Studies in Theosophy.

By the late Dr. HANS LASSEN MARTENSEN. Translated from the Danish by T. RHYS EVANS. London : Hodder & Stoughton. 1885.

Mr. Rhys Evans has done well to introduce this work to English readers. Böhme's works are not particularly attractive, and few have the patience to read either Schiebler's seven volumes, or Law's four ponderous quartos. Here, however, in Bishop Martensen's work we have a clear, and, on the whole, sympathetic and accurate summary of Böhme's opinions. This is not the place to enter upon a discussion of those opinions, nor can we enter upon any discussion of Dr. Martensen's criticisms of them ; we can only say that while in many respects curious, the great Theosophist's opinions are frequently very suggestive. Böhme was neither insane nor heretical, but a genuine God-fearing soul, who often obtained deep and clear insight into the reality of things, and whose whole aim both in his life and writings was to bring men into more intimate communion with the Eternal Spirit. Like most independent thinkers he has often been misunderstood and misrepresented. For this he is himself partly to blame. Dr. Martensen's work, in the excellent translation Mr. Evans has here given of it, will do much to remove the prejudices which have been entertained against him, and more than Law's quartos to spread a correct apprehension of what he really taught and was.

Reminiscences of Yarrow. By JAMES RUSSELL, D.D., Late Minister of Yarrow. With Preface by PROFESSOR CAMPBELL FRASER. Edinburgh and London : W. Blackwood & Sons. 1886.

This singularly interesting and attractive volume carries us back, as Professor Fraser has remarked in his preface, 'into parochial life, in other days in the pastoral vale of Yarrow, that ideal Border vale, and source of so much Scottish romance.' Throughout the district the name of the Russells of Yarrow was familiar as a household word. Father and son were known also over a much wider area, there being few parishes in Scotland into which their names have not penetrated; but it was here in the Ettrick Forest, where for close on a hundred years they officiated in succession as the parish ministers of Yarrow that they were best known and most loved. Each of them was a fine example of the Scottish parish minister of the best class, cultured, dignified, without sectarianism, and exercising a benign social as well as religious influence among their parishioners—men altogether different from the Scottish clergymen depicted by Mr. Buckle. The period covered by the reminiscences is the last decade of the last century and the greater part of the present century—from 1790 to 1883—probably the most celebrated in the history of the classic vale. The reminiscences themselves are of the most varied character—literary, social, ecclesiastical, historical, antiquarian. There is not a single uninteresting page throughout the whole of the volume; but in every one of them may be found something which is either instructive, or entertaining. Among the parishioners of the Russells were Sir Walter Scott, the Ettrick Shepherd, William Laidlaw, and Tibbie Shiel, and among the visitors to the parish were Professor Wilson, Wordsworth, and most of the leading lights of the last generation. Those whom we have specially named, as well as many who are unknown to fame, figure in the pages of the *Reminiscences*. Not the least interesting part of the volume consists of long extracts from a lecture delivered by Dr. James Russell on Hogg, of whom Mrs. Garden, the Shepherd's daughter, has recently written some charming memorials. As a description of Scottish life and character at the beginning of the present century the *Reminiscences* will always hold a high position. It abounds in anecdotes, many of which are new to us, and not a few of them are full of pawky humour. Our thanks are due to all who have had a hand in the production of the volume, and after the author, most of all to Professor Fraser for his admirable preface and informing notes.

The Governance of England: otherwise called The Difference between an Absolute and a Limited Monarchy. By Sir JOHN FORTESCUE, Kt., sometime Chief Justice of the King's Bench. A Revised Text edited with Introduction. Notes and Appendices by CHARLES PLUMMER, M.A., Fellow and Chaplain of C. C. C., Oxford. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1885.

As a piece of careful and elaborate editing this volume is equal to anything of the kind we have seen. Its production is a cheering sign of

English scholarship and a proof that Mr. Plummer is a genuine master in a most difficult art. Fortescue's tractate, though printed in larger type than the rest, occupies only about forty-eight pages, while the remainder of the three hundred and eighty seven of which the volume consists, are, with the exception of the twenty-four taken up with the index, devoted to the introduction, notes, and appendices. The notes and appendices, again, not only exhibit the extent of the editor's reading, they are also in the fullest meaning of the term illustrative of the text. Many of the notes are valuable for their own sakes and altogether apart from the passages they are written to illustrate. Such, for instance, are several on Thomas Aquinas and Aristotle, several dealing with the condition and governments of Scotland and France, and various others relating to taxation, the prevalence of piracy, the naval power of England in fifteenth century, its merchant shipping, the income and expenditure of the English kings, the constitution of the Privy Council, the condition of the English Commons, and the administration of justice. On these and similar topics Mr. Plummer's pages abound in information and have a wealth of reference which in English books is somewhat rare. Fortescue was born about the close of the fourteenth century, became a Sergeant-at-Law in 1429 or 1430, and was made Chief Justice of the King's Bench in 1441. He received numerous marks of the royal favour, and as a lawyer enjoyed a very considerable reputation. Siding with the Lancastrians he was present at the battle of Towton, and fled with them first to Scotland, and afterwards to the continent. Returning to England on April 14, 1471, he was present at the battle of Tewkesbury, where he was taken prisoner. The same year, Henry VI. being dead, he accepted the king's clemency and joined the Yorkists. Soon after he was pardoned. Two years later he obtained the reversal of his attainder and the restoration of his estates, not however before he had written a refutation of certain arguments he had previously published against the king's title. Besides the *Monarchia* and the two pamphlets just referred to and a number of other political tracts, Fortescue wrote a treatise entitled *De Natura Legis Naturæ*, another with the title *De Laudibus* and a *Dialogue on Understanding and Faith*. The last, as Mr. Plummer shows, is a touching and beautiful little tract, dealing with the old question which has perplexed men's hearts ever since the days of Job; the prosperity of the ungodly and the afflictions of the righteous, but with special reference to the revolutions of kingdoms. The *De Natura* was written in Scotland between 1461 and 1464, and was intended for the instruction of Prince Edward of Lancaster. In it Fortescue maintains that the right of succession to kingdoms must be determined by the laws of nature, and proceeds to discuss that law and the origin of government and its various kinds. The *De Laudibus*, which is by far the best known of Fortescue's works, travels over much the same ground as the *De Natura*, but adds a new account of the origin of the two kinds of Government, absolute and limited monarchy. To the number of constitutional monarchies

Fortescue here adds Scotland, and gives a striking picture of France under Louis XI. which becomes for him henceforth the type of an absolute Government. Like the *De Natura*, the *De Laudibus* was written for Prince Edward; the parts of it which do not deal directly with constitutional questions, consist of exhortations to that prince to observe the ancient customs of England. The *Monarchia*, or *Governance of England* is Fortescue's ripest and best work on political philosophy and has a special interest attaching to it, inasmuch as it is the earliest constitutional treatise written in the English language. Unlike previous writers on political philosophy, Fortescue always bases his speculations on the facts of observation and experience. The consequence is the *Monarchia*, besides its value as a constitutional treatise, has an historical interest possessed by no previous work of the kind. Its contents have been well summarized in the following words:—'A Treatise intituled *Jus Regale* and *Jus Politicum et Regale* comprehending for good Example memorable Councells of Estate Affaires; Namelie as touchinge the King's charges ordinary and extraordinary, Enlarginge of the Revenewes of the Crowne, disposeinge of Offices and Rewards for Service, Ellecting of Councelloures, and the disposeinge and ordering of all other affaires of the Kinge, Kingdome, and Court.' We can only add that the little treatise is in every way worthy all the labour Mr. Plummer has so patiently and skilfully bestowed upon it.

The Ocean: A Treatise on Ocean Currents and Tides, and their Causes demonstrating the System of the World. By WILLIAM LEIGHTON JORDAN, F.R.G.S. Second Edition: Abridged and Revised. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1885.

This is a second edition of one of a series of works now pretty well-known, which Mr. Jordan has published on the Ocean. The first edition of the present work, or what was practically its first edition, appeared in 1873. It is now issued with certain omissions and abridgements, and with additional notes, and the tenth book dealing with the action of *Vis-Inertiæ* in the heavens re-written. Mr. Jordan's theory is that the whole system of oceanic circulation results from the action of *vis-inertiæ*, or the effect of the opposing action of astral and terrestrial gravitation, in consequence of the earth and its motion tending to carry the particles of the ocean from the positions in which universal gravitation tends to hold them. Newton's definition of the *vis-inertiæ* Mr. Leighton Jordan contests, and maintains that instead of being an innate force of matter or power of resisting, by which every body endeavours to continue in its present state, whether of rest or movement in a straight line, is a force by virtue of which every body endeavours constantly to bring itself into a state of rest. The distinction is important and is used by Mr. Jordan with great effect. The volume is abundantly furnished with charts and diagrams and is written with great clearness and precision notwithstanding the abstruseness and intricate nature of its argument.

Oceana, or England and her Colonies. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1886.

Whatever Mr. Froude touches with his pen he invests with interest. As a book of travel *Oceana*, as it is almost needless to say, is delightful reading. Mr. Froude has no narratives of imminent peril or hairbreadth escapes to relate, but his descriptions of natural scenery, of men, their cities and manners, and aspirations, are written in that clear crisp English and with that charm of literary finish, which have given all he has hitherto written a permanent place in our literature. Much that he has to tell us, apart from the way in which it is told, is both new and striking. His Australian experiences were little short of a series of surprises to himself and as gratifying, we should say, as they were unexpected. Every effort was made to do him honour and to facilitate his movement, and no opportunity was lost of making him acquainted with the country and its leading minds. In Victoria he was the guest of the Governor and travelled sumptuously. The news that he intended to visit the older Colony of New South Wales brought free passes for him and his party over all its railways. Of the Australians whom he saw, and of the Australians generally, Mr. Froude formed a very high opinion. Their attachment to the old country is deep and strong. There is nothing they fear so much as separation, and there are few things they dislike so much as the flag which the Home Government has compelled them to use instead of the British. One thing in Australia seems to have struck Mr. Froude most forcibly, and that is the absence of any peculiarity of dialect. A visit to the residence of a squatter afforded Mr. Froude a very genuine surprise. Instead of a rude log hut in the wilderness, the residence turned out to be a splendid mansion surrounded by magnificent parks and well laid out gardens, and exhibiting in its interior the signs of culture and refinement on the part of its owner. On his way out Mr. Froude called at Capetown, where he landed with some little trepidation. The Colony was just then passing through the excitement caused by the expedition of Sir Charles Warren, regarding which and many other things relating to our dominions in South Africa Mr. Froude has many grave and plain things to say. From Sydney Mr. Froude went on to New Zealand, and thence to San Francisco, and across the American Continent. It was not, however, for the purpose of amusing himself nor with a view to writing brilliant descriptions of Colonial scenery or Colonial society that Mr. Froude travelled round the globe, but in pursuance of a long cherished desire to hear for himself in their own homes the opinions of the Colonists on the question of Imperial Federation. In the various Colonies he visited the principle of Imperial Federation—a principle which has been more than once advocated in the pages of this *Review*—seems to be everywhere accepted as an article of political faith, and the principal value of *Oceana* lies in what Mr. Froude has here gathered together respecting it in his travels, and in his own remarks as to the way in which the

Colonies have been treated by successive governments. These remarks are pointed, and make sad work of the policy which up till quite recently was pursued towards the Colonies. In the course of his narrative, too, Mr. Froude discusses the various schemes of Federation which have been proposed, but gives in his adherence to none of them. The question, he believes, is not yet ripe for settlement. 'All of us,' he remarks, 'are united by the invisible bonds of relationship, of affection for one common country, for one common sovereign, and for one joint spiritual inheritance. These links are growing, and if let alone will continue to grow, and the fine fibres will of themselves become a rope of steel. A federation contrived by politicians would snap at the first strain. We must wait while the Colonies are contented to wait. . . . So long as they do not complain, we may spare our anxieties on their account, and need not anticipate an alienation of which no signs have appeared. If they feel aggrieved they will suggest a remedy. . . . Were *Oceana* an accepted article of faith, received and acknowledged as something not to be called in question, it would settle into the convictions of all of us, and the organic union which we desiderate would pass silently into a fact without effort of political ingenuity.' Meanwhile Mr. Froude claims that the Colonies should be treated generously and made to feel that they are part of ourselves—a policy which, to say the least, has common sense on its side. Though probably not his most important work, *Oceana* will in all probability prove its author's most popular one. It is a book which no one who recognises the greatness of the crisis through which our affairs are at present passing, or desires to see the different members of the empire drawn more closely together for mutual aid and prosperity, can afford to miss reading.

Moon Lore. By the Rev. TIMOTHY HARLEY, F.R.A.S. London: Swan Sonnenschein, & Co. 1885.

This pleasantly written volume is designated by its author 'a contribution to light literature and to the literature of light.' The first part is certainly written in a light and cheerful spirit, and though the author is perhaps a little too much given to making puns, he always proves himself to be thoroughly well informed. The remaining parts are somewhat more serious. Here and there a theory is advanced to which objection may be taken, but taken as a whole the work is a really substantial and valuable contribution to the literature of folklore. For his materials Mr. Harley has sought far and wide, and has put together in a handy form and extremely interesting way most that is known as to the legends and superstitions respecting the moon. His arguments for the moon being inhabited are plausible. The notes at the end, besides serving to show whence Mr. Harley has derived his materials, deserve to be regarded as containing a pretty full bibliography. Altogether the volume is an entertaining and instructive manual on the subject with which it deals and can scarcely fail to be prized by those who are interested in the thoughts and fancies of the past.

Handbook to the Grammar of the Greek Testament together with a complete Vocabulary, and an Examination of the chief New Testament Synonyms. Revised and Improved Edition.
London: Religious Tract Society.

This is a new and greatly improved edition of a very useful book. It is designed to introduce those who have no knowledge of classical Greek to an intelligent understanding of the Greek of the New Testament. Besides containing a pretty full grammar of the New Testament variety of Greek, it is supplied with exercises and reading lessons drawn from the sacred text, and if persistently used according to the plain and ample directions given by the compiler and editor, cannot fail of its purpose. Those concerned in the compilation and more especially in the revision of the book deserve great credit for the pains they have taken to bring the information it contains up to date and to make the volume available in connection with the Revised Version and the text of Messrs Westcott & Hort. The chapter on New Testament Synonyms is excellent, and the vocabulary which contains many references both to the rules of syntax and the text, will be found extremely useful in a variety of ways.

Weaver Stephen. Odds and Evens in English Religion. By
JOSEPH PARKER, D.D., Minister of the City Temple.
London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co, 1886.

Weaver Stephen is a book, in that it is about two hundred and ninety-eight printed pages contained within boards. As an intellectual production it is simply the overflow, in a great variety of directions, of a very fertile brain. That it should have been published in the form in which it appears seems to us to indicate one of the common perils attending that sickly fulsome adulation which is lavished on popular clergymen of all denominations. The writer of *Weaver Stephen* must be deeply imbued with the conviction that anything he may chance to scribble down about anything, is a contribution to the sum of human knowledge, for which all people must, or should be grateful. That he might, if he chose, write, in the form of a story, a book for which people would be very grateful, is amply shown in what he has written. Strewn through *Weaver Stephen* there are abundant evidences of Dr. Parker's breadth of view, shrewd judgment, candour and fairness of spirit, and superiority to all narrow denominational prejudices, which would enable him, in the graphic and telling form of a story, to give us admirable portraits of the strong and weak sides of both the Church of England, and the different Dissenting Churches. He would deal out even-handed justice all round, and both Episcopalians and Dissenters would learn a good many valuable truths. As it stands, *Weaver Stephen* is an impossible book to criticize. It is a conglomerate of disconnected fragments. If a clever artist collected together a number of the hasty sketches in which he had preserved ideas

which had occurred to him, and, piecing them altogether, framed them and hung them up, we should have a picture about equivalent to *Weaver Stephen* as a book.

Saga of Halfred the Sigskald: A Northern Tale of the Tenth Century. By FELIX DAHN. Translated by SOPHIE F. E. VEITCH. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner, 1886.

It is not often, indeed, it is exceedingly rare, that one sees the old heroic age of heathenism, or rather the period when heathenism was making its last convulsive struggle against the new forces called into play by Christianity, so faithfully reproduced as it is here in the volume before us. The author of it has caught the genuine spirit of the old Sagas, and has put into the *Saga of Halfred the Sigskald* a richer colouring and a fuller poetic beauty than is usually to be found in this species of writing. The various characters stand out clearly and boldly. Halfred is a genuine Norse hero; there is a grandeur even in his madness; and terrible as the incidents are, they are not at all overdrawn. From beginning to end the story reads like a poem. Not a little credit is due to the translator both for the excellent rendering she has given of the *Saga*, and for introducing it to English readers.

The Crofter in History. By DALRIAD. Edinburgh: W. Brown, 1885.

This is a book which at the present moment deserves to be very widely read, more especially by those who are engaged in legislating, or in advocating the crofter's cause. So much sentimentalism has been indulged in about the crofter, and so little is actually known about his history, that it is high time a little of the cold grey light of fact were thrown upon his actual position in the past. 'Dalriad' has done good service by publishing this carefully prepared brochure, and deserves the thanks of those who do not wish to be misled by theorists and sentimentalists. For the first time he has traced the crofter's history, and set it before the world in clear and unmistakable lines. Not a few who read what he has written will find reason to change their opinions, and to many others his pages will open out a new chapter in social history.

Revue des études Juives, publication Trimestrielle de la Société des études Juives. January — June, 1885. 8vo. Paris: Durlacher.

We have often wished to bring to the notice of our readers an interesting periodical which has been in existence for already several years, and which, under the title *Revue des Etudes Juives*, deals with a branch of literature not so well known as it ought to be. The Jewish community residing in France is both numerous and flourishing. They have resolved to show to the world of science and philosophy that they are not, as some will

imagine, absorbed by financial speculations, and they aim at continuing the traditions bequeathed to them by the rabbis who flourished on the other side of the channel during the last two centuries. The *Revue des Etudes Juives* is a quarterly publication; its contents are of the most varied kind, and they address themselves alike to philologists and to historians, to antiquarians and to divines. The particular fasciculus now before us, and which extends by exception over the first six months of the present year, is an excellent specimen of what the reader may look for in every *livraison*. We have, in the first place, a series of short essays or disquisitions on different points of history, philosophy, grammar, and rabbinical literature. Then come a number of notes briefer still in style, and seldom extending beyond a page and a half or two pages at most; bibliographical articles form the third division of the review, and finally a limited space is reserved for news and miscellaneous communications respecting Hebrew literature, the progress of the *Société des Etudes Juives*, etc., etc. Amongst the papers of an historical nature contained in this number of the review we have noticed two; the one treats of the Jews established at Medina in the time of Mohammed, and is curious by the details it gives us on the relations between Islam and Judaism, and the attempts at conversion made by the false prophet. The other article is devoted to the situation of the Jews at Trévoux in 1429, and illustrates in a most interesting manner the jealousy which their material prosperity had excited amongst their Christian neighbours, and the odious persecutions of which they were the victims. Under the heading 'Bibliographie' we find a valuable article on Dr. Delitzsch, and on the almost universal tendency which now prevails amongst critics to proclaim the paramount importance of a knowledge of Assyrian grammar to Hebraists. Gesenius and the scholars of his time had perhaps exaggerated in the opposite direction, and for them a familiar acquaintance with the Arabic language was the condition *sine qua non* of a sound understanding of Hebrew. The excuse for them is that in those days the science of Assyriology did not exist, the ruins of Nineveh were still unexplored, and the cuneiform inscriptions had not yet been deciphered. It is probable that without abating in the slightest degree from his partiality towards the Arabic, Gesenius, had he lived to witness the discoveries of Sir A. Layard, Professor Rawlinson, M. Oppert, and M. Lenormant, would have admitted the claims of the Assyrian language; at any rate, as M. J. Halévy remarks in the *Revue*, all the Semitic idioms ought to be admitted *equally* to a place amongst the factors of the Hebrew language, even the Aramean which, however, Dr. Delitzsch does not so much as mention.

Discipleship and other Poems. By DAVID WATSON. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner. 1886.

Mr. Watson has considerable facility in verse-making and not a little poetry in his nature. The few poems he has here published are pregnant with a wise and tender sympathy, and some of the lyrical pieces have the

genuine ring. 'A Highland Maid's Lament' is pretty and suggestive, and might be set to music. One or two weak rhymes are perhaps excusable, as examples may be found of such even in such masters as Burns and Tennyson. Mr. Watson is strongest in narrative verse, and might do well to cultivate his faculty in this direction more carefully.

Le Livre des Peintres de Carel van Mander, vie des Peintres flamands, hollandais, et allemands (1604). Traduction, Notes, et Commentaires. Par HENRI HYMANS. 2 vols. Paris : Jules Rouam, 1884.

In these two magnificent quarto volumes, M. Hymans of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique has reproduced for French readers, Carel van Mander's famous and invaluable *Schilder-Boeck* containing his Lives of the Flemish, Dutch, and German painters down to the beginning of the seventeenth century. For the lives of these artists, it is almost needless to say, van Mander's quaint, sober and delightful pages form one of the principal sources, and as the work has not been translated before, M. Hymans' French version of it is not without significance for a much larger public than that of France. Poet, painter, and author, von Mander deserves to be called, and if we remember rightly he has been called, the Vasari of the North. At the time he wrote his *Book of Painters* Rubens was at work in Italy, and was still unknown, Frans Hals had not attained his majority, Rembrandt was unborn, and the greater glories of the Flemish schools had yet to be produced. Nevertheless, the Low Countries had for more than a couple of centuries been the scene of considerable artistic activity, Bruges, Ghent, Louvain, Brussels, Haarlem, Antwerp, and other cities had all their painters of greater or less celebrity; and just as these could boast of the van Eycks, Goes, Weyde, Hans Memling, Quentin Matsys, Mabuse, and Heemskirk, so Germany could lay claim to Schöngauer, Wohlgemuth, Albert Dürer, Schaffner and Altdorffer, the Holbeins and the Cranachs. The sources whence van Mander obtained his information are not precisely known. There can be little doubt, however, that he was indebted to a large extent to previous writers, such as Vaernewyck and Lampsonius. His own master Lucas de Heere may have rendered him assistance. There can be little doubt, too, that he made good use of the opportunities afforded him for gathering materials in his travels, during which he visited not only Italy, but Germany and Switzerland. To his friend Goltzius he refers on several occasions as an authority, and the probability is that he was indebted to other of the friends among whom he spent the last twenty years of his life. M. Hymans, however, has not only translated the *Schilder-Boeck*, he has added to it elaborate notes and commentaries in which he corrects van Mander's errors, and supplements his statements with all that has since been found out respecting the old artists about whom he wrote, and thus increased immensely the original value of the work.

Les Artistes Célèbres.

<i>Donatello.</i>	Par EUGÈNE MÜNTZ.	48 gravures.
<i>Rembrandt.</i>	Par EMILE MICHEL.	41 „
<i>Prud'hon.</i>	Par PIERRE GAUTHIEZ.	34 „
<i>Fortuny.</i>	Par CHARLES YRIARTE.	16 „
<i>Bernard Palissy.</i>	Par PHILIPPE BURTY.	20 „
<i>Jacques Callot.</i>	Par MARIUS VACHON.	51 „
<i>François Boucher.</i>	Par ANDRÉ MICHEL.	44 „
<i>Gérard Édelinck.</i>	Par LE V ^{te} HENRI DELABORDE.	34 gravures.

Paris : J. Rouam, 1885-6.

The first of this excellent series of publications to appear was M. Müntz's admirable monograph on Donatello, who has not unjustly been styled 'the brightest light of Italian sculpture in its most promising period,' and though it appeared so recently as towards the close of last year, its success, we are glad to be able to state, has been such as to induce the enterprising publisher of the series, M. Jules Rouam, to issue during the present quarter no fewer than seven additional numbers. With these, as well as with M. Müntz's work, both publishers and readers have every reason to be satisfied. Each of the numbers is in its way a marvel of cheapness and excellence. The illustrations in each volume are numerous, and generally speaking well executed. There are of course differences, and were we to make our preference we should be disposed to decide in favour of those given in the Donatello and Palissy volumes. The accompanying letter-press is excellent—a fact which, as we need hardly say, is amply vouched for by the high reputation of the authors whose names appear on the title-pages. In all the volumes one uniform plan, which has much to commend it, has been followed. The life of the artist is first written with care and considerable minuteness; his principal works are then gone over in detail and in such wise as to initiate the student or rather the amateur into the secret of their excellence; and a bibliography and a list of the artist's productions and of the places in which they are now to be found, form the conclusion. In several, too, are a few notes respecting the prices which some of the more notable works have fetched at the various sales at which they have been sold. It will be seen, therefore, that the aim which each author has distinctly had in view in writing his work is educational. To the amateur and to those who wish to form an intelligent acquaintance with the works of the great artists, the series will prove invaluable. Its reproduction would, we imagine, meet with favour. The editor of the series, we should add, is M. Müntz.

The Cornhill Magazine. Vol. V. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1885.

Like its predecessors, this volume is characterised by freshness, variety, and ability. Of the longer novels, 'Rainbow Gold' is finished,

and the reader leaves it with the conviction that its author, Mr. Christie Murray, is entitled to a place among the foremost of living novelists. 'Court Royal,' as it draws to its conclusion, becomes more exciting, and well sustains the reputation of its author. Among the shorter stories, 'A Cheap Nigger,' 'My Deserter,' and 'Mysterious Mrs. Wilkinson,' deserve special mention. Archæology is represented by an able and instructive paper entitled 'Ogbury Burrows,' and geology by one equally able and instructive on the birth of mountains. Natural history, again, is represented by an interesting paper under the title of 'Fish out of Water,' and astronomy by 'The New Star in Andromeda.' 'Superfine English' is an admirable protest on behalf of common sense being used in writing the English language. In short, open the volume where we may, something instructive or amusing inevitably turns up.

The Statesman's Year-Book. Statistical and Historical Annual of the States of the Civilized World for the Year 1886.
 Edited by J. SCOTT KELTIE. Revised after Official Returns. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

Mr. Scott Keltie's excellent annual has now reached its twenty-third year, and continues to improve its position as a reliable authority for a vast amount of information respecting the various countries of the civilized world. It is not a mere collection of statistics, though of these there is no inconsiderable proportion, well chosen, clearly arranged, and drawn or revised from official sources, but contains also many notes and data respecting the reigning families, governments, political and ecclesiastical institutions, trade, commerce, industries, capabilities and resources of each particular country, together with lists of the most recent and most important publications descriptive of or dealing with them. An alphabetical index very minute and complete increases the handiness and utility of the volume. No one who wishes to be thoroughly posted up in the kind of information it contains can afford to be without it.

Abyssinia. Translated from the German of Dr. HENRY W. J. THIERSCH, by SARAH M. S. PEREIRA. London: James Nisbet & Co., 1885.

This small volume is full of information, and gives an excellent brief sketch of Abyssinian history. There is a crudeness about the style which is very suggestive of a schoolboy's theme, a fault which may be due to the translator; but a good many very common-place moral reflections, which might conveniently have been left out, must be laid to the charge of the original writer. His sketch of the career of the unfortunate King Theodoros is a bald colourless rendering of a most romantic story; and in treating of the history and character of that extraordinary and ill-fated man, no weight is given to the fact that he bore the hereditary taint of a most violent and dangerous form of insanity.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

L'ART (January 1st and 15th).—The admirable illustrated review published by M. Rouam begins the twelfth year of its existence with a number well worthy of the past and full of promise for the future. It opens with the continuation of an article on 'Demoniacs in Art.' It is contributed by M. M. Charcot and Richer, that is, we need scarcely add, by two of the most eminent authorities on hysteria and epilepsy. In this instalment, they consider the works of Raphael, Domenichino and Rubens from the point of view of modern science. The result of their minute and critical examination of the demoniacs represented by these three masters amounts to this, that Raphael either had no practical knowledge of the contortions of the human frame under the influence of epilepsy, or wished to tone them down, and, in so doing, abandoned all truth to nature. Greater fidelity is admitted in the case of Domenichino. As regards Rubens, his treatment of the subject combines the highest art with the most minute scientific accuracy. This admirable paper is rendered more valuable and instructive by the excellent engravings which illustrate it.—Of the two remaining papers, the longer and more important describes a painting of Mantegna's—The Virgin with the Cherubim—lately discovered beneath another painting; the other is *à propos* of Auguste Réault.—Special mention and special praise are due to the splendid etching, 'Janvier,' published as a frontispiece to this new volume of *L'Art*.—The second number opens with an article in which M. Max Rooses contributes some very interesting details with regard to the connection between Moretus and Rubens. Amongst other things we learn that the master devoted a considerable time to devising the elaborate allegorical frontispieces of the works published by Moretus, that he executed them on hollydays only, charging less for them on that account.—François Boucher—le peintre des Grâces—is the subject of an interesting sketch bearing the signature of M. André Michel.—The full-page engravings are 'Portrait de famille,' after Rembrandt, and a charming little bit by M. Edmond Yon: 'Le Trou aux Carpes.'

L'ART (February 1st and 15th).—M. Max Rooses here concludes his account of the business relations between Balthazar Moretus and Rubens. Availing himself of the materials to be found in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, in Antwerp, the author, who is the custodian of the valuable collection has been able to throw a little additional light on the details of the great master's life, to give us the history of some of his paintings and of the greater part of the sketches executed for the engravers, and to tell us what kinds of books he read and studied.—M. le vicomte Henri Delaborde devotes a paper to Gerard Edelinck, and M. Eugène Müntz has an excellent study on Martin Schoen.—The mid-monthly number assigns the place of honour to an article on the eighth exhibition of the French Water-colour Society, the text being profusely illustrated and intelligently assisted by specimens of the exhibits.—It is followed by the first instalment of a study contributed by M. Louis Courajod and entitled 'Histoire du Département de la Sculpture Moderne au Musée du Louvre.'—Two contemporary collections that of M. Auguste Sichel and that of M. Stein are described by M. Noël Gehuzac.—As a contribution to the 'Lettres d'artistes et d'amateurs' which *L'Art* publishes from time to time, we have here a note written by Victor Hugo to Pierre Leroux, requesting a notice in the *Globe* of Mlle. Mars's appearance in Hernani.—Two continuations, the one of Champfleury's 'Caricature au Japon,' the other of the study on Schoen, conclude a more than usually varied number.

L'ART (March 1st and 15th).—'Notes d'un Voyage: Croquis d'Architecture' is interesting both for the architectural sketches which illustrate it and for the amusing gossip of the letter-press.—The magnificent tapestries of the chateau de Pau, setting forth the history of St. John the Baptist, are made the subject

of an excellent paper by M. Paul Lafond.—Though valuable in itself, the present instalment of 'Histoire du Département de la Sculpture Moderne au Musée du Louvre,' too much resembles a catalogue to be highly interesting to the ordinary reader.—The last of the present quarter's numbers contains nothing but continuations of which Champfleury's 'La Caricature au Japon' will prove the most amusing and perhaps not the least instructive.—The number has scarcely the usual wealth of engravings; this, however, is compensated for by the excellence of the etching which accompanies it. It is by M. L. Carred and reproduces Delacroix's first painting, 'Dante and Virgil, lead by Plegias, crossing the lake which surrounds the infernal city of Dite.'

BIBLIOTHEQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (January).—Considering the popularity of Switzerland as one of the playgrounds of Europe, it is a little curious that less is probably heard of its political life than of that of any other country. It is some satisfaction to think that there is somewhere in Europe a region from which the clamour of party strife rarely reaches British ears. If any one imagines, however, that there is any lack of statesmen or legislative activity in the Confederation, he would do well to turn to M. Numa Droz's sketch of the distinguished Landamman of Glaris, Dr. Heer, who was born in 1825, and reached the summit of his ambition, the governorship of his native canton, in 1857. The sketch is especially interesting as introducing us to a condition of public life very different from our own.—French writers and their views of Russia serve M. Louis Léger as a topic for an amusing and instructive paper on the actual condition of that empire, and the misapprehensions and erroneous deductions of French travellers and theorists.—In 'La Civilisation Chinoise' M. A. de Verdilhac presents a curious and entertaining account of the social condition of China and of the moral and religious elements which underlie it.—The lighter reading of the number contains the first portion of an excellent novelette, 'Connais-ça,' by M. le Dr. Châtelain, and a quaint Russian Christmas story, 'Les Ames du bon Dieu,' by Mme. Kohanofsky.

BIBLIOTHEQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (February).—A great deal in the way of criticism has been written about Walt Whitman, but rarely anything so justly appreciative or brilliantly analytical as an essay in the present number by M. Léo Quenel.—M. Maurice Vernes contributes a broad and lucid review of the General Elections in France in October last year, and of the great questions on which they turned.—In 'Les Armes Combattantes en France et en Allemagne,' M. Abel Veuglaire presents us with the first of a series of military articles, written evidently by one who has had some personal experience of his subject. The first instalment deals with the infantry, its work on the battlefield, the principles on which it ought to be handled, the method of instruction, equipment, and organisation.—There are two chief sources from which we obtain our supply of petroleum—Pennsylvania and the Caucasus. M. G. van Muyden describes the method of transport of the mineral oil from the Pennsylvanian wells to the various seaports, and gives some account of the industry at Bakou and in the peninsula of Apcheron.—Dr. Châtelain's novelette, 'Connais-ça,' is brought to a conclusion, and M. A. Glardon is the author of a delightfully humorous tale of Chinese manners, 'Le Père du Docteur Li.'

BIBLIOTHEQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (March).—In this number M. Droz continues his sketch of Landamman Heer.—M. Veuglaire, in the second of his series of papers on 'Les Armes Combattantes en France et en Allemagne,' discusses the Artillery; and M. Vernes brings his review of the French elections to a close.—An exceedingly readable description of Malta and its people is contributed by M. V. de Floriant, who suggests a closer union between Great Britain and the Maltese by means of appointments in the home service, and who, by the way, is willing to lay a wager that a few baronetcies bestowed on the Australians would secure the adhesion of the colony for at least the next half century.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (January).—An article which appeals to a far wider circle than the specialists for whom this philosophical publication is chiefly intended, opens the present number. It deals with 'Problems of Criminality,' and bears the signature of a writer to whose investigations in this particular

branch we have had more than one occasion of calling attention. In the first of the three sections into which the present instalment of his study is divided, he considers the degree of certainty which justifies a judge or jury in convicting, and lays down the axiom that the minimum of probabilities which warrant a conviction must vary, at a given time and in a given country, in direct proportion to public peace and security, and in inverse ratio to disorder. In the second chapter, headed 'The Geography of Crime,' M. Tarde combats the notion that the large proportion of crimes of violence (*crimes de sang*) in Southern as compared with Northern nations is simply due to the influence of climate. In the third part, he argues against the theory that suicide and homicide are in inverse ratio to each other.—The scope of the paper which M. F. Paulham entitles 'Le Langage Intérieur,' is indicated by the conclusions which he enunciates as follows: 'Internal language is a complex phenomenon comprising visual, auditive, motor, tactile, and abstract representations; each of these classes of representations may predominate with varying intensity in various subjects, and may in certain cases constitute by itself the sensible part of the signs which compose internal language; internal language tends to identify itself with real language, either through the transformation of the sensible image into a sensation or hallucination, or through the transformation of the motor image into actual pronunciation; abstract representations seem to be the *residua* of sensations; thought is an internal language, but is not reducible to words or to images of words; thought is a language, not a speech.—The concluding article is devoted to 'Strauss and German Idealism.'

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (February).—In a paper which he founds on experimental researches, M. A. Binet presents a few remarks on a very complicated and very controverted question, the perception of extent or dimension by the eye. He is inclined to differ from both the nativistic and the empiristic school, and to believe that the eye, if it cannot absolutely measure height, breadth and length, can at least perceive the proportional relations of distances.—The conclusion of M. G. Tarde's paper on 'Problems of Criminality,' considers 'the future of crime,' a section more speculative and less interesting than those which preceded it, and also the immense part which falsehood bears in modern civilization. He goes the length of asserting that there never was success in love without deceit, in politics without calumny, in religion without hypocrisy, in diplomacy without faithlessness, in business without cheating, or in war without trickery; in short, that there never was any great glory without some sham.—The remaining contribution is the first part of an essay on Butler's philosophy; it is from the pen of M. L. Carron.—Amongst the 'Notes and Discussions' there are some interesting remarks on 'graphology.'

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 6, 1885).—M. P. Regnaud contributes to this number two short articles. In the first he seeks to determine from its etymology, and its use in the hymns of the Rig-Veda, the precise meaning of the Sanscrit word *maya*, which has been rendered by different scholars with slightly different shades of meaning, 'cunning,' 'craft,' 'artifice,' 'deceit' (Roth); 'wisdom,' 'superhuman skill,' 'divine ability,' 'magic' (Grassmann, Bergaigne); and 'the magical art' (Ludwig). He maintains, in opposition to these writers, that it originally denoted the 'creative faculty' or 'power' of the Vedic divinities, the *devas*; and then shows how it came to bear modified and derivative meanings in popular usage. His second article is titled 'The Vedas and Paleography.' It is a criticism of a recent paper by M. Halevy, which appeared in the *Journal Asiatique* under the heading of 'Essai sur l'Origine des écritures Indiennes.'—Herr Professor Tiele contributes an interesting paper under the title of 'The Myth of Kronos.' It appears also, we notice, in the *Theologisch Tijdschrift* for January in the Professor's native tongue. It consists of a review and criticism of the methods pursued by the different schools of mythologists—the philological, and the anthropological or ethnological. His own leanings are clearly and admittedly towards the latter, but he repudiates the extreme position of not a few of its adherents, who would reject altogether the philological method as worthless. He thinks the study of mythology needs the help of philology, and of history too, if its results are to be sound, and pleads here for the combination of the three. He takes the myth of Kronos as

one which Mr. Andrew Lang, whom he regards as identified with the extremists of the anthropological school, has sought to base his position on, and endeavours to show how much more satisfactory is the explanation of that myth, or of the myths, rather, that have gathered round this name and personage, when all three methods are made use of.—M. N. continues and brings to a close his translation of the Arabic work which he began in no. 4.—M. F. Hattat gives the history of the steps taken by M. Guimet to get his celebrated museum of religious antiquities removed from Lyons to Paris.—M. P. E. Focaux furnishes a synopsis of a work by a Spanish scholar, D. F. G. Ayuso, on the Nirvana of Buddha.—The summaries of the magazines include the articles of Mr. Gladstone and Professor Huxley on the Dawn of Creation, and of Professor Max Müller's paper on Solar Myths, which appeared in the *Nineteenth Century*.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 1, 1886).—M. Ch. Ploix, in an article entitled 'Mythologie et Folklorisme,' enters the lists on the side of the older school of mythologists—the school represented by A. Kuhn and Max Müller—and deals some heavy blows at their antagonists, the writers in *Meluine*, e.g., and Mr. Andrew Lang. He singles out the latter especially for the brunt of his assault. He takes that writer's recent work, *Custom and Myth*, and, as Professor Tiele did in last number, subjects Mr. Lang's treatment of the myth of *Kronos* to a searching critical examination, and also his treatment of the myth of *Psyché*, and endeavours to show how defective and unsatisfactory it is. He sets himself also to show how much more satisfactory results are obtained by the conjoint help of the philological methods, and so seeks to restore those methods to favour, or at least to encourage those who employ them to pursue their studies heedless of the jibes and criticisms now being levelled at them. We would commend to the special attention of biblical students M. Ploix's remarks on the meaning of *Bara*, in Gen. I. 1; and the reasoning by which he sustains the rendering he gives to that word.—An equally interesting paper is that from the pen of M. Eugene de Faye on the 'Daemon of Socrates.' From Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, and Plato's *Dialogues*, he brings out that Socrates did not believe his daemon to be a divinity, but to belong to the order of phenomena of divination. It was a special oracle within himself, and granted by the favour of the gods to himself to prevent him going wrong. M. de Faye shows how this belief in divination coloured the whole religious thought of Socrates, and ruled his entire conduct.—M. Paul Regnaud pleads for a Sanscrit derivation of the word *Saturn*.—M. L. Feer follows up his paper (which he read at the Congress of Orientalists in Leyden in 1883, and which is published in the third volume of the *Transactions*), on 'The Opposition between Nagantha and Gautama as to the Relative Importance of Mental Acts and those of the Body or the Tongue,' by translating from the Pali the Buddhist *sutra*, which bears on this controversy. M. Leon Sichler gives translations from the Russian and Servian of their versions of the well known and widely spread legend of *The Girl with the Amputated Hands or Arms*.—Reviews of books, and the usual *Chronique* for the two months, &c., follow.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (January 1st and 15th).—*La Morte*, the novel continued in the first and concluded in the second of this month's numbers, is a most powerful production. It would be difficult to mention a recent novel in which a psychological 'thesis' is more successfully worked out, in which the characters are more real, or the situations more natural and more dramatic. It will undoubtedly rank amongst the best of M. Octave Feuillet's novels.—A political article from the pen of M. G. Rothan retraces the relations between France and Prussia, from 1867 to 1870; in the first instalment it deals more particularly with the diplomatic negotiations which took place at the time of the Exhibition of 1867.—Under the title of 'Six Weeks in Oceania,' Baron Hubner communicates a section of his now well-known work, that describing his visit to Samoa.—A fourth instalment closes M. Edmond Scherer's remarkable biography of Melchior Grimm; the present section deals with the period from 1873 to 1807, and includes Grimm's connection with Catherine of Russia, the Revolution and the Emigration, and the unhappy period immediately preceding the old man's death.—M. Henry Houssaye devotes an article to the Greek question, and treats

it in the spirit which we might expect from such an enthusiastic admirer of classical antiquity. He believes the Greeks to be thoroughly in earnest, and he has faith in their ultimate success, though they may win it not by a victory such as Marathon, but by a defeat such as Thermopylae.—The remaining contributions are a paper on 'Agriculturists and Vine-growers in Algeria,' and a review of a German work on 'Female Education in France.'—The mid-monthly number is almost exclusively devoted to politics. It contains, in the first place, a paper from M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu on 'Colonial Rivalries,' which treats, more particularly, of the questions which have at various times threatened to involve England and Russia in war.—This is followed by M. Emile de Laveleye who, in a sixth instalment of his 'En Deça et au delà du Danube,' turns his attention to Eastern Roumelia, Macedonia, and Constantinople.—Then M. G. Rothan comes forward with 'Les Relations de la France et de la Prusse,' and, in this instalment, considers the effects of the evacuation of Luxembourg on the military party in Germany.—Politics still come to the fore, though somewhat less obtrusively, in the sketch which M. Bardoux draws of the French Bourgeoisie during the Revolution; and they also assert themselves in the study which M. Ebelot devotes to the 'Progress of the Argentine Republic.'

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (February 1st and 15th).—'How Dogmas end and how they spring up again,' is the somewhat cumbersome title of a very striking essay from the pen of M. Caro, who develops the thesis that dogmas are never nearer a revival than at the very moment when they are thought to have disappeared, and that there are, even now, symptoms of the unexpected revival of ideas and sentiments which the triumph of science was believed to have swept away.—A further section of M. Rothan's political sketch deals with the connection between France and Austria, the interview at Salzburg, and the Prussian circular of 1867.—If it be true that 'Les Dames de Croix-Mort,' the novel which M. Georges Ohnet begins in this number and which has since been published in book form, was sold at the rate of 40,000 copies in two days—not including its circulation in the *Revue*—we may safely say that at least 39,000 readers must have been sadly disappointed, not to say disgusted. The fact that this production has been widely advertised in this country must be our excuse for mentioning that the assault on an unconscious woman, and the attempted seduction of her daughter are the chief exploits of the hero of this unsavoury novel.—Admiral Jurien de la Gravière signs the next paper, of which, however, he is, as he fully allows, not much more than the editor. It contains a charming sketch, founded chiefly on auto-biographical notes, of Admiral Baudin's career.—In a sparkling essay M. Albert Duruy undertakes to lower very considerably the lofty pedestal upon which Colonel Yung has chosen to place Dubois-Crancé, one of the secondary actors in the great drama of the Revolution.—'A Century of French Music' is the title of an article in which is traced the progress of the comic opera from its origin down to Boieldieu.—Besides this, and in addition also to the usual letters, notices and reviews, there are a few pages devoted to 'A German Biography of Beaumarchais.'—The next number of the *Revue* brings a continuation of the sketch of Admiral Baudin's career taking it up in 1815 and carrying it on to his death in 1854; its interest centres in the able account of the taking of Ulloa in 1838.—'A Last Word on the Persecutions' is due to M. Gaston Boissier, who reopens the questions as to the number of victims who perished during the ten persecutions, and who, on the whole, opposes the theory started as far back as 1684 by Dodwell in his treatise: 'De Paucitate Martyrum.'—A perfectly meaningless contribution to which M. Paléologue gives the title 'Soirée d'Hiver à Pékin, and which is singularly below the standard of the *Revue*, is followed by a very solid paper on Political Economy from the pen of M. Leroy-Beaulieu.—More attractive matter will be found in the historical sketch of the French Crown Jewels which M. Germain Bapöt has put together and which contains more than one episode particularly interesting to English readers.—M. Eugène Forgues devotes forty pages to Mark Twain, the greater number of them, however, being merely a translation from 'Life on the Mississippi.'—The last item is on 'The American Vine.'

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (January).—The first number of the year opens with a new novel, 'Martin Salander,' bearing the signature of Herr Gottfried Keller, and bidding fair to prove worthy of it.—The next article, contributed by Professor W. Preyer, is entitled 'Telepathie und Geistesseherei in England.' It contains a critical examination of the work done by the Society for Psychical Research, with which the writer finds fault on the score of insufficient precaution against possible trickery. In addition to this, Professor Preyer urges the objection that, even though the facts examined into should be shown to have been free from all fraud, this, in itself, would be no proof of the existence of the spiritual influence known as 'telepathy,' which, being merely a theory and not a fact, is incapable of scientific proof.—The concluding part of the 'Reminiscences of a late Brunswick Minister,' the materials for which are drawn from the hitherto unpublished correspondence of Wolffradt, presents an interesting sketch of the occupation of Brunswick by the French in 1806, and of the administration of the Duchy after its incorporation into the Kingdom of Westphalia.—As a contribution to 'Musical Æsthetics,' Herr Eduard von Hartmann examines and criticises the various theories and definitions of music propounded by Kant, Schelling, Hegel, Vischer, Schopenhauer, Hanslick, Lazarus, Engel, and Hausegger, and attributes the fallacies or the shortcomings which he indicates in them to the fact that these philosophers have not sufficiently taken into account the principle of æsthetic idealism.—Herr Franz Holzerland shows a thorough mastery of his subject in the paper which he devotes to the 'Labour Movement in Berlin,' and in which he traces the progress of Socialism, and describes its various institutions, from the newspapers which propagate its doctrines to the picnics which afford opportunities for the secret deliberations of its leaders. Not least interesting are the sketches of the foremost men of the party, the representatives of labour in the municipal council, Tutzauer, Herold, and their colleagues.—Though dealing with the career of a man whose reputation can scarcely be said to have extended beyond his own circle—a wide one, it is true—in the Austrian capital, the anonymous article devoted to Baron Hofmann is interesting for the insight which it affords into official life in Vienna.—A pretty New Year's 'Märchen,' in which Herr Otto Schubin illustrates Larochefoucauld's maxim, that 'hope, though deceitful, leads us to the end of life along a pleasant path,' precedes the last item, a translation of Bret Harte's 'Snowed up in Eagles.'

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (February).—In this number the place of honour, immediately after the serial, is occupied by a paper in which Dr. Paul Güssfeldt brings together a number of details concerning the private life of Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia. Some of them are not without interest, whilst others appear rather out of place in what lays claim to be a serious contribution towards a better knowledge of an important historical figure. We question whether posterity will greatly care to know what cigars the 'Red Prince' smoked, how he drank his champagne and—made his guests drink it; and we fear that Dr. Güssfeldt's article will not remove the popular impression that, in spite of his oysters and venison, havannahs and Heidsieck, the Prince was not an amiable man.—The next contribution, which is one bearing the signature of Lady Blennerhassett, is the first instalment of an article dealing with the Taine's work on the French Revolution.—A masterly paper from the pen of Professor Dr. Friedländer retraces 'The Fate of the Homeric Poems.' A preliminary section sketches the various phases of public opinion, from the enthusiastic admiration of classical antiquity to the unintelligent strictures of Thomasius, who preferred Hans Sachs to Homer. From this the learned writer passes on to a consideration of the various theories set forth with respect to the origin of the Iliad and Odyssey. Neither Wolf nor Lachmann meets with much favour, the latter's hypothesis of eighteen original poems, and of a commission appointed by Pisistratus for the editing of the Homeric poems, as well as his microscopic criticism, is severely handled. With regard to the Iliad, Dr. Friedländer favours the view first set forth by Grote, that it grew and expanded from a shorter 'Achilleis.' He entertains a similar opinion as to the gradual development of the Odyssey, though he does not accept Kirchhoff's suggestion as to the contents of the original poem. The concluding part of this most interesting and instruc-

tive study recalls some of the fantastical views which have been seriously enunciated with regard to the personality of Homer and the meaning of his poems. We may notice that Mr. Gladstone's theory as to the time and place of Homer has been relegated to this Homeric limbo.—In an article which he entitles 'A Papal Conclave in the Last Century,' Herr Otto Hartwig gives the history of the election of Benedict XIV. to the Papal throne, his object being to show, by a relation of the political intrigues which accompanied it, that in the choice of God's vicar upon earth, the proceedings are very human indeed.—The two chapters which compose the second instalment of Herr E. Reyer's 'California,' treat respectively of the highlands near the coast, and of Sacramento and pioneer-life.—The conclusion of Bret Harte's 'Snowed up in Eagles' precedes the usual letters, reviews, and notices, with which the number closes.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (March).—Owing to the illness of Herr Keller the serial story is interrupted, and its place supplied by two translations, the one, entitled 'Die Bären,' from the Russian of Garschin, the other, headed 'Die Verschwenlerin,' from the Spanish of Pedro Antoni de Alarcon.—In a letter on the 'Annihilation of Rome,' Herr Herman Grimm explains the sweeping changes about to be carried out in Rome, and raises an energetic protest against the spirit of vandalism which has suggested them.—The conclusion of Lady Blennerhassett's paper on Taine's *History of the French Revolution* is followed by an article on English Society. It is founded on the two well-known works, *La Société de Londres*, and *Society in London*. The former of them, which is pronounced to be the joint production of several writers, is unsparingly censured; the latter, of which the authorship is attributed to an Englishman, fares but little better. Of both it is asserted that they are the work of men unacquainted with the society which they pretend to describe. Who the anonymous writer may be who, after this introduction, proceeds to give a sketch which shall contain more than may be found in the 'Royal Almanack' of Dodd's *Dignities, Privilege, and Precedence*, need not be guessed at.—Another, but not final instalment of 'Reminiscences of Gustav Nachtigal,' is the next item. It is followed by a paper, bristling with statistics, on 'The Merchant Navy, particularly that of Germany.'—The first part of an important paper on 'Contemporary American Novelists' is contributed by Herr Anton Schönbach. It opens with a brief sketch of American literature from its birth in New England, and after a cursory notice of such writers as Irving and Cooper, who, though Americans by birth, are really to be classed among English men-of-letters, it passes on to the transcendentalists, to Emerson and Hawthorne, and from these again to Mark Twain and Bret Harte.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (January).—The anonymous article on 'Social and Political Life in Athens,' with a first instalment of which the number opens, is eminently worthy of the place which it occupies. It is evidently the work of a writer thoroughly at home in his subject, whose knowledge of politics and intimate acquaintance with the national character enables him to explain much that necessarily appears unintelligible to mere outsiders, and whose sparkling style lends a charm even to the details of government and administration into which he enters.—The paper bearing for its title the name of 'Johann Hieronymus Yelin,' contains a sketch of the religious disturbances to which the question whether Easter was to be celebrated on the 29th of March or the 5th of April, in the year 1744, gave rise in the Grafschaft of Hohenlohe, and particularly in Sidringen. This curious episode in ecclesiastical history is related by one of Yelin's successors as parish minister of Sidringen, Herr Stadtpfarrer K. Gussmann.—The next contribution is also from the pen of a theologian, Herr Pfarrer Pfeiderer, who gives a biographical notice of Alois Emanuel Biedermann, the late professor of theology at the University of Zürich, where he died in the beginning of last year.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER, (February).—The discourse pronounced by Professor von Treitschke on occasion of the celebration held in honour of the 25th anniversary of the Emperor of Germany's accession to the throne, is here reproduced. It is more than a merely creditable production, and is particularly

remarkable for its moderate tone, not, indeed that it is wanting in enthusiasm, but its enthusiasm does not degenerate into fulsome adulation or offensive vaunting.—The continuation of the article on 'Social and Political Life in Athens' is, even more interesting than the first instalment, possibly because it deals less with the political and more with the social element. Classical students will read with special pleasure that part of the paper which treats of modern Greek in its relation to the old language.—As the next item, there appears a review of a book published as long back as 1883, by a Jesuit, and dealing with the reform of German Gymnasiums. The anonymous writer, is as bitter against the Jesuits as the Jesuits are against the system of education at present existing; he denounces Pachtler's book as being inspired by a deadly hatred of Protestantism, of modern civilization, and above all of Prussia.—Of the two remaining articles a short one is entitled: 'Wandlungen innerhalb der Klassischen Archeologie'; the other deals with the condition of various industries in Germany.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER, (March).—The present number appeals to a far more limited circle than its predecessors. It gives the place of honour to an article in exposition of Karl Marx's principles with respect to political economy. This is followed by the closing instalment of the paper on the condition of German industry; neither is of absorbing interest.—If the next contribution promises better, it is merely as regards the title, which leads us to expect an essay on 'Contemporary Philosophy of Religion'; it turns out to be much more limited in its scope, being merely a review, or rather a criticism of Bender's book *Das Wesen der Religion und die Grundgesetze der Kirchenbildung*.—From these it is refreshing to turn to the sketch of the unfortunate expedition to Chiva, undertaken in 1717 by command of Peter the Great, and under the leadership of Prince Bekovitch; as regards both manner and matter, it is by far the most readable and interesting item in the number.

WESTERMANN'S MONATS-HEFTE (January).—The honour of opening the first number of the new years falls to Herr Wilhelm Jensen who starts a tale which promises to be entertaining.—The Alsatian village of Sessenheim to which Herr August Becker takes us in the conclusion of his able sketch: 'Auf Goethes Wanderpfaden, is perhaps the dullest and least romantic spot in the valley of the Rhine, but it has the redeeming feature that it is associated with one of the earliest of the poet's 'affaires de cœur.' Of this episode the writer gives a fair and impartial account, whilst he also makes use of the opportunity afforded him to refute the calumnies with regard to the conduct, in after life, of Friederike Brion, the object of Goethe's youthful passion.—Herr K. von Denburg begins a series of 'Excursions in Belgium' with an interesting description of the capital, the history of which seems to be as familiar to him as are its public buildings and monuments.—In a second instalment of a series of papers which are to deal with 'Sporting Dogs,' Herren Adolf and Karl Müller discuss the characteristic points of the various kinds of mastiffs.—The article in which Herr Wilhelm Rodewyk explains the organization of the German 'Imperial Bank,' can scarcely be recommended as light reading but it is ably and carefully written and full of instructive details.—From the pen of Herr Pictch we have a sympathetic sketch of the career of Karl Begas—whose famous painting, 'Die Lorelei,' thousands of prints have made as popular in Germany as is the poem which suggested it—and of his son Oskar.—A pretty, though rather fanciful legend: 'In den Alpen' closes a number in which there is plenty to read and much to amuse as well as to instruct.

WESTERMANN'S MONATS-HEFTE, (Feb.).—In this number lighter literature is represented by 'Biri' and 'Eine vornehme Frau,' which are both brought to a close, and by 'Zwei Stipendiaten,' a short story by Herr Wilhelm Berger.—Readers acquainted with Goethe's early history will turn to the article bearing as its title 'Aus Briefen der Friederike Oeser,' in the expectation of finding frequent mention of the poet in the letters of the lady to whom he dedicated his first important lyrical productions, the 'Leipziger Lieder.' Strangely enough his name occurs but twice, and that merely incidentally. To compensate for

this, however, there is some information to be gathered about lesser literary celebrities.—After a whole article devoted to Brussels, Herr Karl von Denburg crowds Bruges, Ostend, Antwerp, Ghent, Louvain, and Liège into a short notice of some eight pages, and thus brings his 'Belgian Excursions' to an abrupt and disappointing termination.—Herr Ludwig Pietch concludes his truly interesting account of the Begas family, of which this instalment alone is accompanied by three portraits and twelve illustrations.—In a further instalment of their instructive paper on 'Sporting Dogs,' Herren Adolf and Karl Müller turn their attention to Pointers and Setters.—The number ends with a contribution to the history of 'Weather Prognosis,' in which Herr Herrmann Klein shows what labour it has cost to bring out weather-forecasts even to the point which they have reached.

WESTERMANN'S MONATS-HEFTE, (March).—In 'Silie,' we have another attempt on the part of Herr Otto Roquette to utilize 'the great and the small people of Weimar,' at the beginning of the century, for the purpose of fiction.—A paper contributed by Herr Robert Prölas contains a biographical sketch of the Abbé Galiani and an exposition of the doctrines contained in his 'Dialogues sur le blé,' a work of which such a judge as Voltaire pronounced that it seemed to be the joint-work of Plato and Molière.—Herr Pröble follows with 'Magdeburg,' an excellent descriptive and historical paper for which Herr Paul Müller has supplied sixteen capital illustrations.—In an essay similar to that on the subject of music which he lately contributed to a French review Herr Eduard Hartmann considers and criticises the position of architecture in modern æsthetics.—Hans Hopfen's works are analysed with much fairness and taste by Herr Muncker, who does good service to German literature by bringing forward the claims of a writer whose varied and high excellence is deserving of greater popularity than he enjoys outside the limits of his own country.—A novelette from the pen of Herr M. von Reichenbach affords capital light reading, whilst the closing instalment of 'Sporting Dogs' makes us regret that Herren A. and K. Müller have brought their charming sketches to a close.

DE GIDS for February contains the continuation of 'Frans Netschers' 'Naturalism in England' under which title he is extolling the works of George Moore. This writer, who has no honour in his own country, is being translated into French with a recommendatory essay by Emile Zola, whose line in art he closely parallels; and is to be translated also into Dutch. His work 'A Mummer's Wife' is compared in this paper with Zola's 'L'assommoir'; both are studies of the ruin brought about by drunkenness: the former dealing with the effects of drink in the working classes of Paris, the latter treating in great detail a case of ruin by drink in a woman of the middle class in England. Nothing that is said here at all touches the objection which has generally been felt to Zola's works in this country, and which will we trust continue to prove fatal to the reputation of George Moore, that art should show self-respect in the choice of its subjects and ought not to delight in beholding iniquity. A translation of Shakespeare into Dutch by Dr. J. A. J. Burgersdijk is spoken of in this number of the *Gids*, and extracts are given from the translation of 'Romeo and Juliet' and of 'Lear.' They are correct and elegant rather than forcible; we must allow that if Shakespeare had been obliged to express himself in the Dutch of this century, he would have had a hard time of it. But we heartily congratulate the translator on the success he has attained in a difficult and important undertaking.

The March *Gids* opens with an account of the great poet Bilderdijk by Prof. Pierson, a gossiping interesting sketch of one of the most living and human of Dutchmen; the man who both wrote

'O Holland, Paradise of earth,
Outside thee is no weal, no joy!'

and helped to bring into his country a deeper religion in which feeling and knowledge should go hand in hand. The paper says little of his expatriation, his residence in England, and friendship with our own Southey; it is mostly taken up with a careful estimate of his poetic, philosophical, and religious position.—A paper by Prof. Doedes on the recent conflict in the Reformed

Church at Amsterdam is not intelligible without a minute acquaintance with the intricate and anomalous constitution of that Church. It shews, however, that the recent change in the terms of subscription has left the antagonism of the liberal and the reactionary parties in the church still ready to break out when occasion offers.

In the *THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT* for March Dr. Oort discusses Isaiah 24-27, which he places after the exile, but before the time of Nehemiah; in the period when there was a temple but no people firmly knit together about it. The doctrine of angels, 24, 21; 27, 1; and the doctrine of the resurrection here seen in process of formation, point to the Persian period. The occasion of the writing is to be found in a hostile encounter with a Moabite town, the downfall of which is prophesied in several passages of the little work. This work is the headspring of several important ideas in later Jewish prophetic and apocalyptic literature; the doctrine of the resurrection and the notion of a great feast given by Jehovah on Mount Zion are to be traced to it. An extract from a letter of Prof. Robertson Smith follows, given in English, in which he proposes a transposition of the difficult verses Judges ix. 28, 29, with the three verses preceding them, so as to show that Shechem remained Canaanite till its destruction by Abimelech, and then became Hebrew by the Hebrews stepping in after Abimelech had destroyed the old Canaanite population. Dr. Kuenen, who introduces Prof. R. Smith, appends to his discussion a note indicating disagreement with its conclusions; and it does seem a violent proceeding to tear away v. 30 from v. 29.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (Feb. 1).—V. Marucchi describes the tomb of St. Felicità lately discovered in Rome.—M. Ferraris discusses small properties and agrarian credit.—F. Lampertico contributes a critical study on the letters of J. Capponi, edited by A. Carraresi.—F. d'Arcais writes a monograph on Amilcar Ponchiello, the Italian composer.—L. Luzzatti commences a long paper on 'Competition and Progress in the Italian Banking.'—Then follow some romantic sonnets by the poet Belli, whose complete works are in course of publication.—In the biographical bulletin is a notice of Leoni Levi's report on the wages and earnings of the working classes. The reviewer doubts the sources, and therefore the validity, of the author's general conclusions.—(Feb. 16). D. Silvagni writes a very interesting monograph on the late Prince Torlonia, describing him as he first saw him on the occasion of a grand festival in the Villa Nomentana in 1842. At that time, Prince Torlonia was a handsome man, with black hair and whiskers, brilliant eyes, and proud bearing; his wife, then nineteen years of age, had a figure like Diana, and bore herself like a queen. The writer describes the family, the manner of life, and the works of the late Prince, the most important of which was the draining of Lake Fucino.—A. Graf's article on 'Antipetrarchism in the Fifteenth Century' follows.—C. Tommasi Crudeli has a paper on 'Woods and the Roman Malaria,' which is meteorological and statistical. Among the statistics is one showing that fever in the Roman provinces, during the months of July, August, and September, has decreased from 11.4 per cent. of the population in 1879, to 2.5 per cent. in 1882, at which low point it never before stood during the years from 1871. It also shows that the prevalence of the fever keeps pace with the rainfall during the previous spring months, the fever increasing with the larger fall of rain.—A. Bruniati discusses the colonial progress of Germany, and the Samoan Islands, and deplores the want of Italian colonies.—L. G. De Cambray Digny gives an account of the situation of Italian finance in January, 1886.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (March 1).—Under the title of 'An Idealistic Poet,' E. Nencione writes an article in eulogy of the Italian author, A. Fogazzaro, who has just published a volume of poems, which, the reviewer says, are worthy, in spite of some defects of execution, of sympathetic study. The seriousness and healthiness of the book is apparent at first sight. It is inspired by life and nature, and is a protest against the materialistic and pessimist tendencies of the day.—L. Pigorini gives a detailed account of the National Archaeological Museum at Copenhagen.—G. Boglietti has an article on 'Maria Stuart and her most recent interpreters.'—L. Luzzatti continues his papers on rivalry and progress in banks.—L. Palma writes on the question of Home Rule in Ireland, and says

that Mr. Gladstone's policy as regards Ireland is the only one in accordance with justice and healthy policy, and that if it cannot triumph to-day, it will do so to-morrow. The good wishes of the Italians will accompany Mr. Gladstone on his glorious but difficult path.—The bibliographical review notices Dr. R. P. Ely's 'Recent American Socialism,' and praises the author's illustration of the principles that animate the two socialistic parties in America.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE, (February 1st.).—G. F. Ajroli concludes his chapters on the logic of American democracy, and comparing it with modern French government, is all in favour of the former. 'What a difference,' he says, 'between the oldest of modern Latin nations, and the free nation of the Yankees! In the latter, freedom in all parties and expansion of the national life; initiative of the citizen; the people sovereign and the government servant; in the latter, the national life concentrated in one sole city; a bureaucracy which covers and impedes all national movement, and paralyses all individual initiative; a system of overbearing guardianship over all citizens; the government master, and the people pupil.'—G. Fornasini concludes his interesting account of Umbria and Abruzzo as observed in the line from Trasimeno to Aterno.—U. Ugolini begins an account of the 'Free State of the Congo.'—Professor de Johannis contributes an article on the deficit in the Italian budget, and promises another.—P. Fambri writes the story of the 'Serino Water,' which, as is known, was supplied to the city of Naples last year. He describes the Samnite aqueduct that, in ancient times, brought the very same water as far as Benevento, then the capital of the Samnites. Portions of this very ancient aqueduct still exist, and an interesting bit, in good preservation, has been kept as a curiosity close to the springs of Urcinoli, which feed the new Serino aqueduct. The modern aqueduct is a grand work, and well worthy of a visit from tourists staying in Naples, whence it is easily reached.—(February 16th.).—A Guasti contributes a learned study on the Cunizza da Romano mentioned by Dante in the *Paradiso*.—A biography of Marquis Cesar Lucchesini, traveller and diplomatist, who lived in the beginning of the century, is commenced by G. Sforza. The present paper contains a description of the Austrian court in 1792, and portions of Lucchesini's diary.—V. Bracchi writes on Divorce in France.—Papers follow by G. Chinazzi and A. Morena on the Ligurian Athenaeum, and on Economic Reform in Tuscany.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE, (March 1.).—'Christianity and the Social Question' by D. Poggi, and more chapters on the engineering history of Venice and her lagunes, by G. Malaspina, commence this number.—F. Falucci has an interesting comparison on longing or 'Sehnsucht' towards the dead, especially among the Corsicans, who express the feeling by the word *bramā*.—F. del Carlo writes on the Lucchesan Republic and the Medici family.—V. Miceli commences a comparative study of 'Political Conception.'—B. Prina notices Cardinal Capececiatello's *Life of Christ*, and 'Y' notices Zauchi's *Nuova Saggio di Teodececa*, directed against modern pessimism.—The 'Notes' mention Arthur Crump's 'Short inquiry into the functions of political opinion etc.,' as a brief but accurate study of the external manifestations of governmental changes in England.—(March 16th.).—I. Grottanelli writes on 'The last year of the Senese Republic and Cardinal Niccolini.'—L. Olivi has an article in favour of the study of foreign languages and literature.—A. Morena continues his chapters on Economic Reform in Tuscany.—Professor Conti writes on 'Musical Laws.'—and L. Vitale on 'The Life of the Blind.'

ARCHIVIO STORICO PER LE PROVINCE NAPOLETANE (Year X. fasciculus III.).—Nicola Barone transcribes from the registers of the Royal Treasury of Charles I. of Anjou, the notes that appear to him of historical importance, year by year. Notes dated March 1278 to March 1282 are of varied interest. One, for instance, runs as follows: 'Sept. 30, 1279, Melfi. The treasurers received orders from the king to pay Prince Philip, Emperor of Constantinople, the sum of 2000 ounces of gold for his expenses, as long as he remains in the king's train.' Sometimes domestic particulars come into view, as in a note of February 5th, 1280, Castello dell' Uova, Naples, when Charles orders his treasurers to pay the sum of 25 ounces in gold carlines, and 3 taris in silver carlines to Master Carlo Ore-

five for making a 'paille a cuire siros pour nous, mars neuf, et pour faire trois couverdes a trois chanderous de notre cousine mars huit. Derechef pour faire couvercles a trois poz de la cuisine de la Reyne mars sis, et pour repareiller la galea de sa table mars trois.' These notes are continued from number to number of the *Archivio*.—As useful information for a future history of art in Naples, N. Faraglia publishes some notes on the artists who worked in the church of San Martino and in the treasury of San Gennaro. Already in the second half of the sixteenth century artists were employed in decorating the restored church of San Martino, and not only Neapolitans, but famous artists from Florence and elsewhere. The notes are copied from papers belonging to the monastery of San Martino, now preserved in the State archives. Unfortunately very many of these important documents have been lost or scattered. In those relating to the treasury of San Gennaro there is a curious one giving the details of the contract made with Spagnoletto who worked at so much the figure. For example, in the painting of the martyrdom of San Gennaro, there are mentioned, the Saint, at 105 ducats; the executioners, one figure, 105 ducats, and so on, each group or figure contracted for at the above sum,—there follows the Neapolitan Diary from 1700 to 1709 containing mention of all the chief events that occurred during that period; earthquakes, executions, births and deaths of important persons, naval and military, movements, elections, processions, quarantines, accidents, suicides, plagues, Te Deums for victories, royal processions, miracles,—nothing is forgotten. Three notes are of interest. March 20, 1706. Four men were hanged in the market place, and two others—one a gentleman—were whipped through the town and sent to the galleys, for having robbed in the city at night. March 23, 1707. While mass was being performed at the Capuchin Convent at Pozzuoli, the face of the statue of San Gennaro grew suddenly black, on which the monk who was performing mass burst into tears, and another fainted away. When mass was ended, the statue became white 'as it was before; the news of this caused a great number of people to come from Naples to the convent. June 27, 1707, vessels from England appeared off Naples, and some citizens were arrested and put in chains in the galleys for having gone on board and eaten and drunk, but they were afterwards liberated on it being ascertained that they had only gone out of curiosity.'—G. Racioppi writes a paper on the history of the name 'Italy.'—M. Schipa notices 'The chronicle of San Stefano ad rivum maris' edited by Professor Saraceni at Chieti in 1876.

LA CIVILTÀ CATTOLICA (Feb. 6).—The leading article speaks of the consequences of the Papal mediation, which it sums up as follows: 'The chief consequence is that the Pope is recognised as the king of the chief potentates of Europe; the second, that in the transitory condition in which the Pope finds himself in Rome, his liberty is not guarded by the law of guaranty, as is boasted by the Italian Government, for the States which recognise the Pope as sovereign treat with him about what subjects they please. The third consequence is, that it is necessary that the head of the Church should be released from the hostile power which, contrary to all justice, occupies Rome, and keeps him in a quasi state of siege in the Vatican. The fourth consequence derives from the success of the mediation, which shows that the Pope is not only not dead for Europe, but possesses immense exuberance of life.—In the mid-monthly issue, the leading article treats of moral redemption of Italy, which, it is argued, can only be brought about by a return into the bosom of Holy Church.

LA CIVILTÀ CATTOLICA (March 6).—A short leading article on 'Suicide in Italy' dates the origin of the tendency to the times of Ugo Foscolo, Leopardi, and Guerrazzi, who by their writings infatuated the Italian youth; other modern writers have only increased the evil. Statistics are given of the years 1871 to 1884, showing that the number of suicides in Italy has increased from 836 in the year first mentioned to 1970 in the last-mentioned year, and far more rapidly among men than among women. The article concludes by attributing this sad state of things to the 'revolution.'—(March 20). In the leading article of this number, on 'The Jubilee of the Pope,' the writer says that on this occasion the Pope intends to move all Christians to be, or to make themselves true Christians,

feeling and living as Christians not only in public but in private. Having described the reason of the prevailing weakness of faith in the present day, the writer concludes by saying that the Pope is strenuously trying to save Christian society from imminent ruin and terrible scourges.—The rest of the number consists of the articles commenced previously.

ARCHIVIO STORICO ITALIANO.—The first issue for 1886 contains—'The protestatio of Dini Campagni,' by J. del Lungo; some chapters of the 'Chronicle of the Tribulation,' by F. Tocco; 'Mémorial of Francesco P. di Blasi,' by Vito La Mantia; 'C. Von Hoefler's Donna Juanna, Queen of Castille, etc., and the 'Mémoires of Prince Metternich, by M. A. de Klinkowstroem,' by L. Zini; Sbigoli's 'Story of Tommaso Crudeli,' by G. E. Saltini; and A. Berlolotti's 'Artists in relation to the Gonzagas of Mantua,' by A. Venturi.—The second issue contains—'The Death of Giovanni Aguto; inedited documents and poems of the 14th century,' by P. Santini; 'The Cavalier of Savoy and the youth of Prince Eugene,' by D. Caruti; 'The Marquis de Prié in Belgium,' by A. Renmont. The reviews are two by F. Tocco on *Das Evangelium æternum und die Commission zu Anagni*, by Professor Demfle and others; one on an article by Dr. Herrman Haupt in Preger's *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*; one on *The Udinese Annals*, by G. Occione Bonaffous; and one by G. Silingardi on Tarducci's *Life of Columbus*.

NOTE.—For 'Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels,' on page 262, line 24, read 'The York Mystery Plays.'

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